



The Pope and
America: A
Spiritual Affinity

Building a
Bridge Between
Two Polands



How Morgan
Tsvangirai Would
Remake Zimbabwe

TIME

How his
mother
made him
who he is

Raising Obama

BY AMANDA RIPLEY



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OYSTER PERPETUAL DAY-DATE
IN PLATINUM



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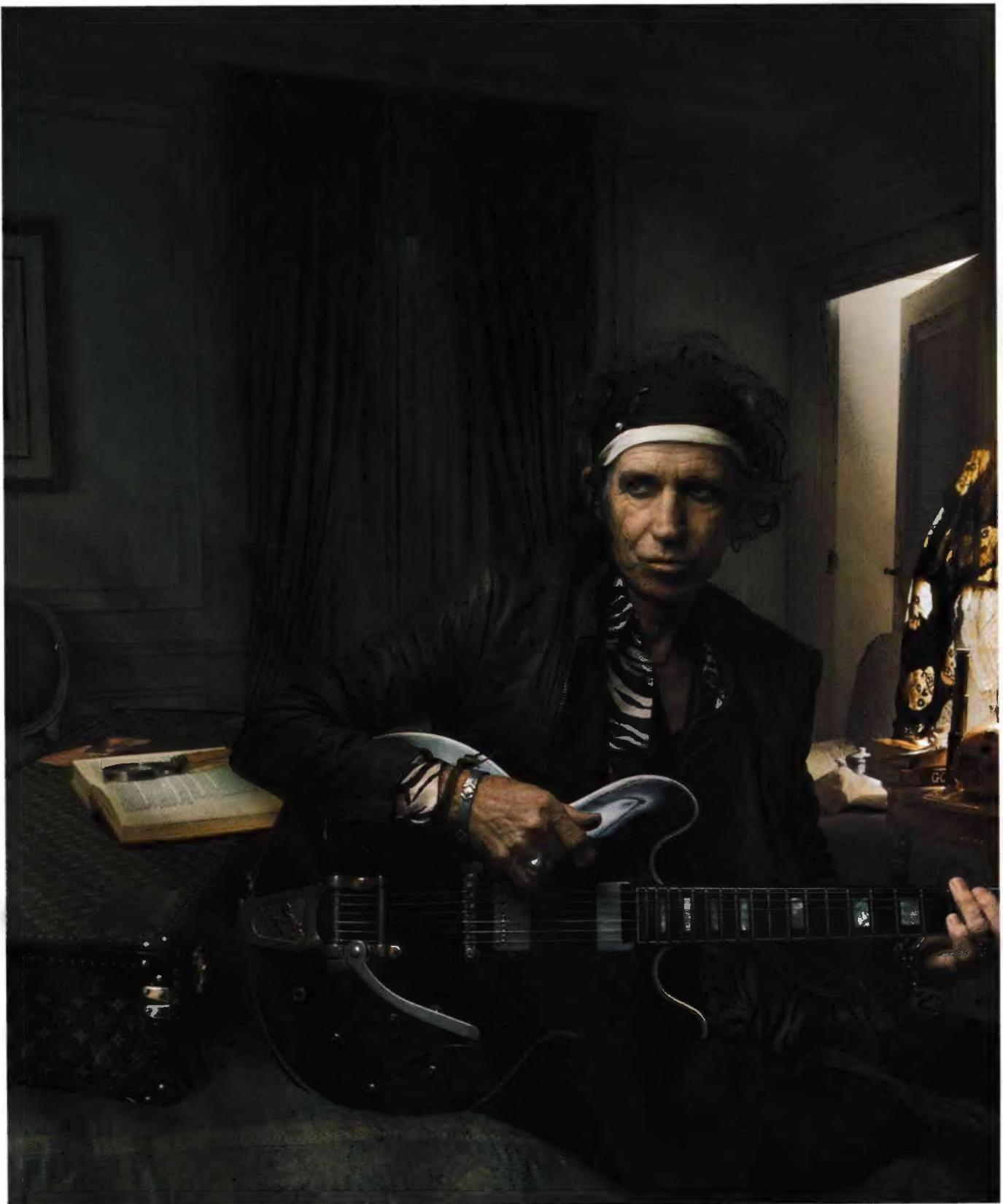
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On the cover: Photograph courtesy of Obama for America. Insets, from left: Plinio Lepri—AP; Mike Hutchings—Reuters

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Postcard: London.

Among the travelers at Europe's busiest airport are a surprising number of homeless—and they're not going anywhere.

A night with Heathrow's down-and-out jet set

BY EBEN HARRELL

IT'S A FAMILIAR SCENE: 3 A.M. AT Heathrow Airport, and people are sprawled across plastic benches in various poses of contortion. To be in transit is to be disconnected, but for some of those sleeping here, the rootlessness is not temporary. Each night, scores of London's homeless men and women take advantage of modern travel delays by posing as stranded passengers in order to sleep in a warm, safe place. They play a cat-and-mouse game with police, often donning floral shirts, fanny packs and other travel accessories to blend in. And their increasing ability to disappear in Heathrow's swelling crowds of delayed passengers—bolstered last month by the glitch-plagued opening of a new terminal—has prompted the airport to try a new approach.

In February, Heathrow com-

GLOBAL DISPATCH
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sioned Broadway, a local homeless-outreach organization, to visit the airport once a week in order to survey its homeless population and try to coax them into alternative accommodations. In the first four weeks alone, Broadway conducted a hundred interviews with homeless people at the airport, and although the group spoke with some more than once, the number was far higher than expected.

One night in March, I joined Jeff Motunde, a Nigerian-born Broadway outreach worker, and police officers for a survey of Heathrow's homeless. Those contacted included a man sleeping under his coat, another conspicuously hiding behind an open newspaper, and a woman clutching a duty-free bag who insisted she was waiting for a flight, only to whisper when police were out of earshot, "I can't afford electricity. It's warm here. Please let me stay."

Like many legitimate travelers, Heathrow's homeless are in search of escape—from debts, from legal troubles,



Lost in the crowd Heathrow's "rough sleepers" have blended in amid its masses of stranded flyers

from family responsibilities. They often have mental-health or substance-abuse problems, and they often refuse help. During the day, some travel into London to beg, busk or take drugs, while others remain in the airport, scrounging food from sympathetic restaurant workers. "When I came from Africa, I couldn't believe people could be homeless in Britain," says Motunde. "But I discovered that homelessness is a way of life. It can be very difficult to convince people to change and receive help."

"Rough sleepers," as homeless people are known in Britain, are sheltering incognito at many of the world's major airports, says Sandie Cox of Heathrow Travel Care, the organization overseeing the one-year

pilot scheme. Chicago's O'Hare instituted a homeless outreach in the 1990s. Several others, including Newark-Liberty in New Jersey and Los Angeles' LAX, have done the same. Heathrow, the busiest airport in Europe, has more delays than most major hubs; the catalog of errors accompanying the March 27 opening of the \$8.5 billion Terminal 5—including some

250 canceled flights and 28,000 pieces of misplaced baggage—has provided even more effective camouflage for the airport's invisible underclass. Still, ingenuity is a necessity for Heathrow's homeless to avoid police detection, although options are often limited. "I thought about disguising myself as a passenger, but I have a bit of what you might call a luggage issue," 65-year-old Joseph explains, pointing to a shopping cart of bulging plastic bags. "They are hardly Louis Vuitton."

Of the half a dozen homeless who agreed to follow up with social care during my visit, it is possible that none will check into temporary accommodations, Motunde says. It's likely that many will stay at the airport until they are arrested or become ill. They are beneficiaries of the democratization of flight: gone are the days when you could identify British air travelers by their neat suits and shiny shoes. Two scruffy passengers we discovered curled in the corner of a remote bathroom turned out to be holding tickets to LAX. They had chosen their spot because it was the only place they could find that had an outlet to charge their handheld video-game console.

Inbox



The Dalai Lama's Greatest Trial

I WAS DEEPLY MOVED BY PICO IYER'S "A Monk's Struggle" [March 31]. Despite the Dalai Lama's half-century of exile and the erosion of Tibetan culture due to the Chinese occupation of Tibet, the Buddhist leader maintains his lucid and compassionate vision. In the face of Chinese oppression, the fact that he sees the advantages of China's modernizing influence and envisions an autonomous Tibet within Chinese borders is a testament to his infinite wisdom. If our next President and other world leaders could emulate the Dalai Lama's compassionate politics, the war on terror and the endless struggle for hegemony could be replaced by a more evolved multilateralism.

John Joseph, BOULDER, COLO., U.S.

ALTHOUGH I DON'T SUPPORT THE CHINESE government's suppression of the Tibetan

people's way of life, there is an amazing irony in the situation. If the Dalai Lama had been able to stay in Tibet and the Tibetans had been allowed to continue with their quiet ways, most of the rest of the world might never have heard of Tibetan Buddhism or been exposed to the teachings and leadership of this remarkable man and the philosophy he espouses. In a way, the Chinese government has been the most important marketing tool for Tibet and its leader. Because of the highly publicized clash, millions throughout the world know of and practice a Buddhist way of life.

Nancy Matela, PORTLAND, ORE., U.S.

IT IS APT THAT YOU FEATURED A COVER story on Tibet when the world is preparing to participate in the most prestigious international athletic event in China. The world community should pressure China

to end its occupation of Tibet. As an Indian American, I'd like India to stop treating China as a brother and the U.S. to stop the hypocrisy of doing business with China while maintaining its embargo against Cuba.

Vishwanath Ayengar
WAPPINGERS FALLS, N.Y., U.S.

What Makes Terrorists Tick?

I READ ABOUT FORENSIC PSYCHIATRIST Marc Sageman's new book, *Leaderless Jihad*, with great interest [March 31]. I think Sageman fails to answer this basic question: If suicide bombers act out of a sense of social injustice rather than psychopathology, why do they so often target noncombatants, including children? What could be more unjust than the killing of the innocent? An alternative explanation is that we are dealing with a different kind of psychopath, a paranoid who sees himself

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Inbox

THE MAN WHO SAW THE FUTURE

Science-fiction writer and visionary Arthur C. Clarke died last month at 90. In the first piece he wrote for TIME, he explained how the vastness of space could liberate humans from self-destructive provincialism [July 18, 1969]:



"Not long ago, a critic of the space program suggested that as soon as the first astronauts came safely back from the moon, we should wind up manned flight and leave exploration entirely to robots. This may well rank as the silliest statement of a notably silly decade; to match it one must imagine Columbus saying: 'Well, boys, there's land on the horizon—now let's go home' ... The exploration of space—by man and machine, for each complements the other—will be a continuing process with countless goals, but no final end ... This does not give us a charter to continue turning earth into a planetary garbage dump; in an ecological sense, we must put our own house into order before we expand into others ... There is always the fear, of course, that men will carry the curse of their animosities into space. But it is more likely that in the long run, those who go out to the stars will leave behind the barriers of nation and race that divide them now ... our present tribal conflicts cannot be sustained in the hostile environment of space."

Read more at timearchive.com.

as the victim and all Jews and Westerners as the demonic enemy and persecutor.

David Levinsky, BANDON, ORE., U.S.

Obama's Achilles' Heel?

SENATOR BARACK OBAMA HAS PREVIOUSLY told us that words matter, and the venomous, vitriolic and racially divisive words of the Rev. Jeremiah Wright are fraught with meaning of the most disturbing kind [March 31]. As your story observed, Obama failed to answer the central question that troubled American voters are asking: Why would Obama choose Wright to be his spiritual guide and personal mentor? And if Obama's candidacy is about the future, why would he expose his young daughters to such poisonous rhetoric of the past? Although he delivered his speech with his usual grace and eloquence, it's precisely what he didn't say that may speak volumes about his character and judgment.

David M. Petrou, WASHINGTON

OBAMA'S SPEECH WAS NOT UNEQUIVOCAL and certainly not healing for many Americans. As I talk to many of my friends and neighbors, I find people even more in doubt of his ability to lead us out of the national crises we are in (an unending war, a faltering economy). Joe Klein stated that

he doubted whether many Americans could get past their "third" impression of Obama. For this voter, he is correct, but it is not because of my lack of "experience" with Obama. It is because of something very important that my parents taught me when I was a child: your character or lack of it will be judged by the company you keep. The fact that Obama held someone as racist as the Rev. Wright so close to himself for more than 20 years speaks not to lack of experience but to the truth of the man.

Ellen DeMaiola, SALEM, OHIO, U.S.

The Bear's Mighty Fall

I READ WITH DISMAY JUSTIN FOX'S "THE Bear Trap," about the collapse of investment bank Bear Stearns [March 31]. The market crisis is especially unsettling because it is self-inflicted. Over the past two decades, through the crippling process of outsourcing, we have relinquished our leads in manufacturing, engineering and technology. If we lose our status as the world's financial beacon, we will surely inch closer to becoming a nation of two dimensions: a bloated military power that consumes voraciously and produces little.

Robert Winkelmann
AMITYVILLE, N.Y., U.S.

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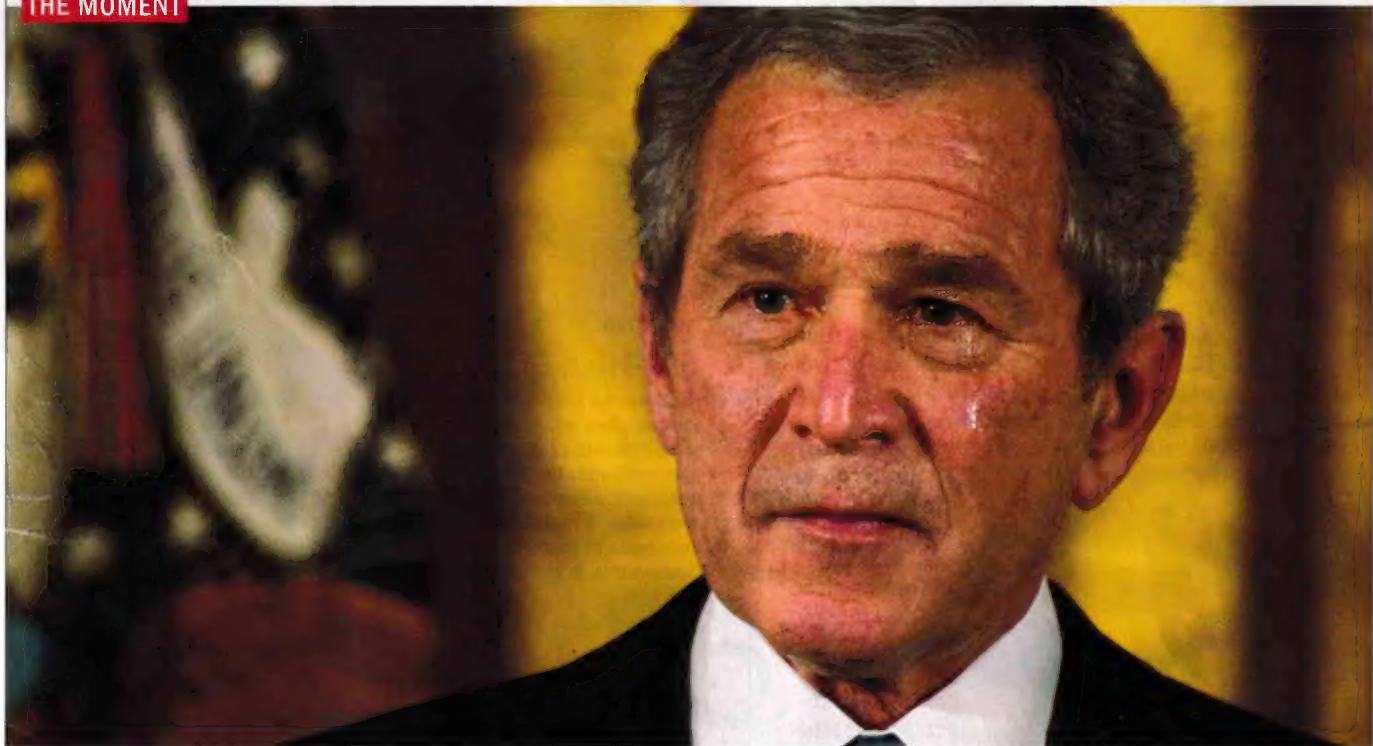


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TIME April 21, 2008

Briefing

THE MOMENT



The Reckoning. U.S. Senators debate the war's future as the President confronts its cost

"SHOW ME A HERO," F. SCOTT Fitzgerald dared us, "and I will write you a tragedy." For U.S. Navy SEAL Michael Monsoor, heroism and tragedy arrived together, when the grenade thrown onto the Ramadi rooftop he patrolled bounced off his chest; he could escape—and let it kill his two comrades—or throw himself on top of it and trade his life for theirs.

The Medal of Honor, President George W. Bush said at the White House on April 8, when he presented it to Monsoor's parents, is "awarded for an act of such courage that no

one could rightly be expected to undertake it." The ceremony unfolded on the eve of the fifth anniversary of the fall of Baghdad and on a day of Senate hearings on the progress of the war. Half a world away, the streets of the Iraqi capital were empty under a military curfew to prevent car bombings. Down Pennsylvania Avenue, Democrats and Republicans competed over who could describe the early conduct of the war in the most devastating terms, even as they debated where to go from here and what it would take to get there.

This was war and remembrance in three-part harmony. Above all, the doubt and division toll the bell for the soldier whose valor, at least, was invulnerable.

Bush is home from his last long tour abroad; the political world is focused on the race to succeed him; his lieutenants

'There is no way to know how Bush processes the price of his policies.'

are leaving to write books explaining all that was not their fault. There is no way to know what he makes of this or how he processes the price of his policies. But the Tuesday medal ceremony, when he stood by

George and Sally Monsoor and told Michael's story, provided a glimpse—not of a President with any doubt of the justice of his cause but certainly of a man reckoning with its cost. Bush talked about the rebellious little boy who grew into a resourceful and remarkable man before he died on that roof on St. Michael's Day, Sept. 29, 2006. "America owes you a debt that can never be repaid," he told Monsoor's parents, and as the full citation was read, Bush's eyes narrowed and glimmered, then his face reddened and shook as the tears fell, and it was all he could do to keep his hands at his sides, until he could not any longer and put an arm around the fallen soldier's mother. —BY NANCY GIBBS



PRISTINA, KOSOVO

Parliament ratifies the new nation's first constitution



LONDON

Keep Britain Tidy campaign launches



SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

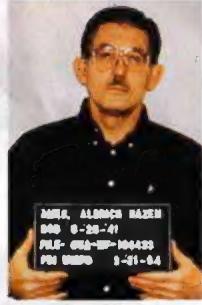
Kansas wins NCA

Dashboard

WASHINGTON MEMO

GENERATIONS of U.S. counter-intelligence officers have sniffed out foreign agents by sifting through their personal lives. A fat bank account was a flashing red light, as were signs of newfound wealth (like the pricey Jaguar purchased by the infamous CIA mole **Aldrich Ames** with the aid of Soviet funds). Anything that made a U.S. employee in a sensitive post vulnerable to blackmail set off alarms—a drug habit, for example, or sexual practices that could lead to embarrassment if exposed.

But the days of relying on those signals could be over. According to a March Pentagon study titled *Changes in Espionage by Americans: 1947-2007*, recently made public by the watchdog group Federation of American Scientists, today's spies aren't in it for the money, and coercion often isn't a motivating factor. In fact, since 1990, two-thirds of the 37 Americans known to have spied on their



country were not recruited by foreign entities but volunteered; 80% received no payment. A growing number of spies have been naturalized U.S. citizens with foreign connections, motivated by what the study calls "divided loyalties."

Even so, 65% of Americans engaged in espionage against the U.S. were native born. The numbers suggest that those in charge of keeping America's secrets need to figure out new ways, short of racial or ethnic profiling, to identify those who pose a threat.

Another potential issue: the growing number of agents spying for stateless terrorist organizations. U.S. espionage laws, written in the early 20th century, are couched in language that essentially ignores such groups. "It is unclear whether current espionage statutes actually prohibit passing information to a transnational terrorist network," the study concludes. Apparently, U.S. law as well as spycraft needs some retooling. —BY ADAM ZAGORIN

INFLATION

Sky-High Staples

Food prices have surged in the past few years, and in recent months inflation has sparked riots, hoarding and economic sanctions around the globe. A look at the rapid increases of some local necessities in the past year:



Eggs up 24%

U.S. Steep animal-feed costs trickled down in 2007, contributing to the fastest increase in U.S. food prices since 1990.



Ground Beef up 8%

CHILE The biofuel boom has strained food supplies throughout South America. Floods and a farm strike have made things worse.

F11	Air Traffic Control
C19	Aircraft Delayed
	Aircraft Delayed
F7	Aircraft Delayed
C30	Delayed
F5	Air Traffic Control
C27	Closed
	Aircraft Delayed
B1	Aircraft Delayed
B12	Delayed
B1	Cancelled
C7	Closed
C8	Closed
C6	Aircraft Delayed
F5	Aircraft Delayed
C6	Closed
F2	Aircraft Delayed

AVIATION

Jet Blues

The U.S. airline industry can't seem to get a break lately

FINANCIAL WOES

Aloha Airlines, ATA and Skybus all ceased operations in the same week this month, and Champion Air will shut down in May. Rising fuel prices, among other factors, made it difficult to stay in the sky and out of the red.

POOR SERVICE

The industry's customer-satisfaction ratings were lower in 2007 than in any other year this decade, according to the annual *Airline Quality Rating* report, released April 7. Only 4 of the 16 airlines studied improved their overall scores, which take into account on-time arrivals, denied boardings, mishandled baggage and customer complaints.



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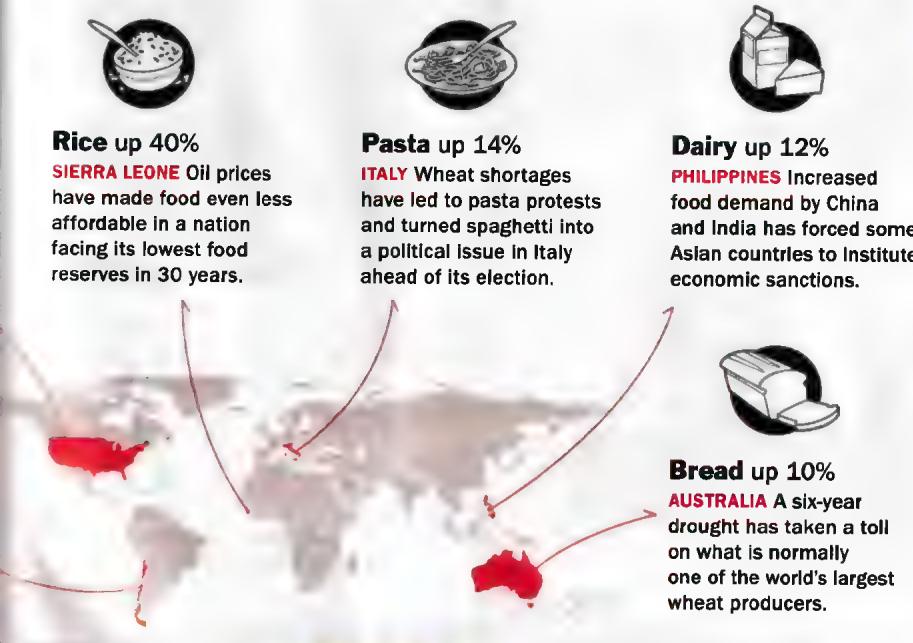
RHINE RIVER, GERMANY

Russian space shuttle Buran 002 to go on display at museum



NAIROBI, KENYA

Police and opposition-party supporters clash in streets



SYSTEMIC CRACKS
Hundreds of flights have so far been canceled as a result of inspection audits by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA). Now the air-safety agency itself is embroiled in controversy. With the help of FAA whistle-blowers, Congress is investigating the agency's alleged complicity in regulatory lapses. At least one FAA official has been reassigned.

CHILD WELFARE

A Crackdown Gets Complicated

On April 3, Texas authorities raided a breakaway Mormon sect's compound following allegations by a 16-year-old girl of sexual and physical abuse. More than 400 children were removed from the ranch in the state's largest-ever child-welfare operation.



LEGAL LIMBO With the girl in question yet to be identified and her alleged abuser found living in a different state, lawyers for the sect—which is led by jailed polygamist Warren Jeffs—have moved to stop the search on constitutional grounds. The children are currently in foster care.

TIMELINE

The Never-Ending Story

After 11 years and multiple investigations, the latest verdict by a British jury may be the final word on Princess Diana's death:



AUG. 31, 1997 Diana and boyfriend Dodi al Fayed are killed when their chauffeured Mercedes crashes in a Parisian tunnel after being chased by paparazzi.



SEPTEMBER 1999 After a two-year investigation by French authorities, a 6,000-page report is published that holds driver Henri Paul responsible. Dodi's father, Egyptian businessman Mohamed al Fayed, claims the couple were murdered in a conspiracy involving the British royal family.

JANUARY 2004 A British investigation is commissioned.

DECEMBER 2006 The investigation, at a cost of \$7.2 million, comes to a close. Paul's drunk driving, aggressive paparazzi and the victims' failure to wear seat belts are identified as the causes of death.

OCTOBER 2007 A separate inquest begins in London, following a three-year postponement, to further investigate the case.

APRIL 2008 After hearing more than 240 witnesses over six months, the 11 jurors reach conclusions similar to the '06 findings; claims of conspiracy are dismissed.

Verbatim

'In all seriousness, this is really quite unfair.'

ALAN GREENSPAN, former U.S. Federal Reserve Chairman, defending himself against accusations that his policies are to blame for the nation's current economic woes



'My Latin is good enough that I believe I could even have a lunch with Julius Caesar.'

SILVIO BERLUSCONI, Italian opposition leader and former Prime Minister, on the historical figure he would most like to meet. Berlusconi is attempting to become PM again in April 13-14 polls

'The people are afraid of the government, but the government is as afraid of the people.'

ABDEL WAHAB EL-MESSERY, an organizer with Kifaya, an Egyptian opposition coalition, on the recent demonstrations and riots signaling discontent with President Hosni Mubarak's government

'I have absolutely nothing against rich people.'

HILLARY CLINTON, Democratic presidential hopeful, after the release of her and Bill Clinton's tax-return documents showed that the couple have earned \$109 million over the past seven years



'We are not the 51st state of the United States of America.'

BOB BROWN, leader of Australia's opposition Greens party, criticizing Prime Minister Kevin Rudd for a playful salute he gave U.S. President George W. Bush during the recent NATO summit

'Pavarotti's great career therefore ended with a virtual performance, something sad but inevitable.'



LEONE MAGIERA, Luciano Pavarotti's longtime pianist and conductor, revealing that the opera singer lip-synched his final public performance at the opening of the 2006 Winter Olympics

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Sources: *Wall Street Journal*; *BBC*; *International Herald Tribune*; *ABC*; *Herald Sun*; *CBC*

NUMBERS

DOMESTICITY

7

Number of extra hours per week of household chores performed by married women in the U.S., compared to single women, according to a University of Michigan study. The overall amount of housework by American women fell 34% between 1976 and 2005

1

Drop in the number of hours per week of housework done by men after they get married. The average number of hours for men rose from 6 in 1976 to 13 in 2005

FOOTWEAR

\$78

Average price of a pair of the popular Crocs footwear in Israel



\$3.60

Cost of a pair of pirated, Chinese-made Crocs being sold to Palestinians

HIGHER EDUCATION

100

Age, in years, of Harvard University's Masters in Business Administration program, the world's oldest

500,000

Expected number of MBA graduates globally in 2008. In China, the figure has gone from zero to 30,000 in the past 10 years

INTERNET

\$2.6 million

Amount paid to 43-year-old Maryland resident Chris Clark for the domain name *pizza.com*. Clark bought it for \$20 in 1994

2,156

Number of cybersquatting complaints that the U.N.'s World Intellectual Property Organization received in 2007, alleging abuse of trademark-registration online

Sources: Reuters (4); *Financial Times* (2); *BBC*; *Sydney Morning Herald*

People



Q & A

Talking with **R.L. Stine**

After taking an eight-year hiatus from his best-selling children's stories, the *Goosebumps* author is back this month with the first two books in a new 12-book series.

Was it good to return to writing *Goosebumps* books?
I wrote 87 of them—that's a lot of books for a human—and I never really planned to do more. But now I'm having a lot of fun with it.

Why did you choose a theme park as the setting for your new series? It's a great setting for scariness because so many things can go wrong. I also like to use humor, and I think there's this really close connection between humor and horror. It's like when you go to an amusement park and you get close to a roller coaster, and you hear people laughing and screaming at the same time.

Were you into horror as a kid?
My brother and I used to go to scary movies all the time. But now I never get scared at movies or by books. At a scary movie, I'm always laughing.

Have you ever written a book that's been too scary for kids? Once I wrote a book with an unhappy ending—the bad girl won, and the good girl was accused of murder. Kids hated this book. They hated it. And I got all this mail: "Dear R.L. Stine, You moron, are you going to write a sequel?" They could not accept it.



Bobby's blame game

BOBBY BROWN says in a new memoir that ex-wife **WHITNEY HOUSTON** introduced him to hard drugs. Houston declined to respond, saying she didn't want to "speak badly" of the father of her daughter.



CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

Commissioned. RALPH LAUREN, to outfit the U.S. Olympic team in Beijing

Retracted. A Los Angeles Times story linking **SEAN (DIDDY) COMBS** to the 1994 shooting death of rapper Tupac Shakur, which had relied on faked documents

Signed on. British rocker **ELVIS COSTELLO**, to host a talk show for the Sundance Channel

Confirmed. A NEW KIDS ON THE BLOCK reunion—their first in 14 years—to produce a new album, due out this summer

Planning to wed. Rapper **REMY MA**, to fiancé and fellow rapper Papoose, as she awaits sentencing at Rikers Island jail

Leo gets greener

Actor, producer and environmentalist **LEONARDO DICAPRIO** has already made a film about climate change. Now he plans to move into an eco-friendly condo in New York City. The new, 264-unit building boasts nontoxic low-emission paint, a 24-hour fresh-filtered-air system, a water-treatment facility and rotating solar panels.

Milestones

DIED HIS BREAK-DANCING in the 1983 movie *Flashdance* helped turn an urban art form from the streets of the Bronx and Harlem into an international phenomenon, but **Wayne Frost**, also known as "Frosty Freeze," had been developing his signature style since the 1970s, later joining the influential Rock Steady Crew. He appeared as the face of the break-dancing craze on the cover of the *Village Voice* and later performed in the movie *Beat Street*. An acrobatic, charismatic dancer, Frost created gravity-defying moves that persist today as some of the most challenging and daring in hip-hop, like the "suicide," in which a dancer must land a full flip flat on his back. He died at 44 after a long illness.

■ HER "INVISIBLE SCULPTURES"—areas of blank space annotated with short, evocative written descriptions—defied the accepted notions of visual art well before such challenges became common practice among her peers. And when **Eugenio Butler** did explore physical media, she maintained her dedication to the provocative and at times discomfiting. *My Last Museum Piece*, her 2003 reprise of an original 1969 work, consisted

of a huge, clear plastic ball, its interior smeared with honey and buzzing with captive flies. She suffered a brain hemorrhage at age 61.

■ THE RICH RED AND ORANGE hues of the giant murals of **Josef Mikl** breathed new life into Vienna's 18th century Redoutensaal concert hall. In addition to winning praise for his abstract works in sculpture, drawing and painting, Mikl helped reinvigorate the art community and heal its wounds following the Nazi era in his native Austria. He was 78.

■ HAILED AS ONE OF SPAIN'S greatest cinematic talents, screenwriter **Rafael Azcona** penned nearly 100 scripts over his prolific career, including



several enduring works that examined his homeland's troubled past. Among the many tales he spun out of the jarring legacy of the Spanish Civil War, *Belle Epoque* earned him an Oscar for Best Screenplay in 1992. The film, which marked the first major leading role of fellow Spaniard Penélope



By Harriet Barwick, Gilbert Cruz, Andréa Ford, Randy James, Katie Rooney, Elisabeth Salemme, Carolyn Sayre, Tiffany Sharples, Alexandra Silver, Molly Stebey and Nathan Thornburgh



Mikl

Cruz, harked back to a less complicated time, on the eve of dictator Francisco Franco's rise. With a deft ability to move between drama and levity, innocence and anguish, he is credited with inspiring anew Spaniards' passion for film in the postwar era. He was 81.

■ FOR HUNDREDS OF CHILDREN battling cancer, oncologist **Charlotte Tan** was a reason for hope. Her ceaseless work developing drug therapies over more than 40 years at New York City's Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center helped establish alternative ways to treat illnesses ranging from leukemia to Hodgkin's disease and bone cancer. In one of her many lasting contributions to the field of oncology, Tan collaborated with Dr. Herbert Oettgen and others to discover that the enzyme L-asparaginase could be used to target and starve tumors in cancer patients. She was 84.



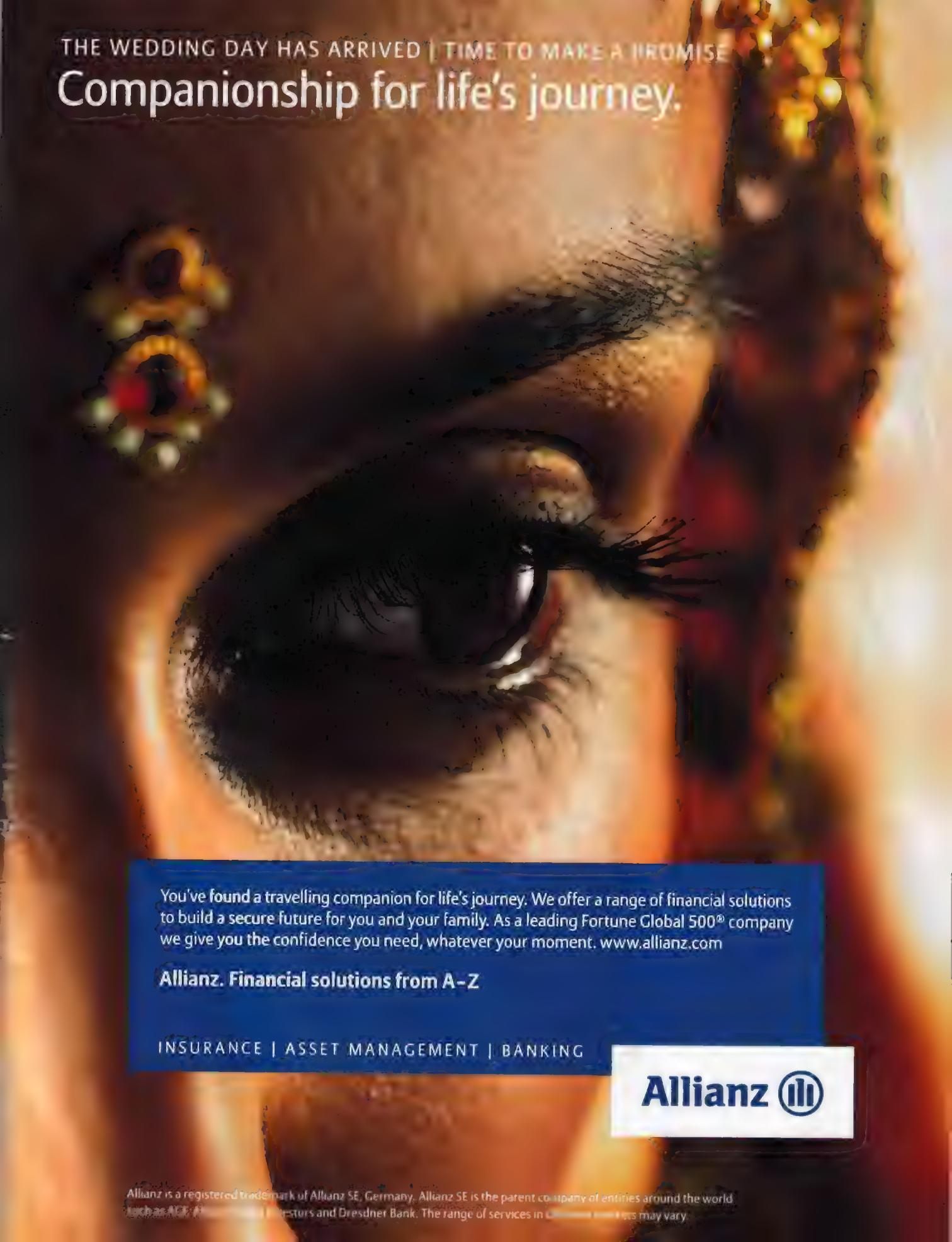
■ A FIRST-TIME NOVELIST AT age 54, **Helen Iglesias** made up for lost time by writing five books from 1972 to 1999, garnering a devoted readership. Perhaps her most widely read work, *Sweetsir*, published in 1981, explored the tortured life of a woman regularly beaten by her husband, until she finally, lethally retaliates. Though her characters spanned a broad spectrum from defiant youth to wry old age, throughout her novels the former editor for *The Nation* was consistently devoted to her theme: the lives and struggles of women. She was 92.

■ A DIPLOMAT, JOURNALIST, scholar and WW II Navy veteran, **David Newsom** wore

many hats. But his greatest gift was for adept negotiation; Newsom's expertise was often called for during the most delicate and urgent situations, notably while he served as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs from 1978 to '81. During that period he had to contend with Pakistan's growing nuclear program, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the 444-day Iranian hostage crisis, in which 52 Americans were held captive in Tehran. A life-long public servant, Newsom always advocated negotiation and debate before resorting to conflict. He was 90.

THE WEDDING DAY HAS ARRIVED | TIME TO MAKE A PROMISE

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Joe

Klein

Petraeus Meets His Match. The general has made real progress in Iraq. But he doesn't have an answer for Barack Obama

SENATOR JOSEPH LIEBERMAN HAS BECOME something of an agent provocateur in the semiannual Petraeus-Crocker hearings staged by the U.S. Senate. This semester he chose to open his remarks by chastising unnamed colleagues for having a “hear no progress... see no progress... speak no progress” attitude about the war in Iraq. That may have been true in the past, as there was no progress. This time, however, nearly all the Senators, including most Democrats, opened their comments by praising the general and the ambassador for their fine work—noting the reduced casualty rates and the success against al-Qaeda. The debate had finally moved on to more fertile turf: If things were going so well, why were Crocker and Petraeus so reluctant to come home?

The Senator who mined this turf most profitably was... Barack Obama (a surprise, since you never expect a presidential peacock to be succinct or acute enough in these bloviations). Obama hit Petraeus and Crocker with an artful series of questions about the two main threats: Sunni terrorists like al-Qaeda in Iraq, and Iran. He noted that al-Qaeda had been rejected by the Iraqi Sunnis and chased to the northern city of Mosul. If U.S. and Iraqi troops succeeded there, what was next? He proposed: “Our goal is not to hunt down and eliminate every single trace of al-Qaeda but rather to create a manageable situation where they’re not posing a threat to Iraq.” Petraeus said Obama was “exactly right.”

Obama asked Crocker about Iran: We

couldn’t expect Iran to have no influence in Iraq, could we? “We have no problem with a good, constructive relationship between Iran and Iraq,” Crocker replied. “The problem is with the Iranian strategy of backing extremist militia groups and sending in weapons and munitions that



are used against Iraqis and against our own forces.” Obama then pursued Barbara Boxer’s previous line of questioning: If Iran is such a threat to Iraq, why was Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad greeted with open arms and apparently a lot of official kissing in Baghdad last month? “A visit like that,” Crocker said, avoiding the question, “should be in the category of a normal relationship.”

At which point, Obama dropped the hammer. The current situation in Iraq was “messy,” he said. “There’s still violence; there’s still some traces of al-Qaeda; Iran has influence more than we would like. But if we had the current status quo and yet our troops had been drawn down to 30,000, would we consider that a success?” Crocker, semi-speechless, chose to misinterpret the question, saying a precipitous drawdown to 30,000 troops would be disastrous. But Obama’s question was more diabolical. He was saying, Hey, al-Qaeda’s on the run, and Iran is probably more interested in harassing the U.S. military than having another war with Iraq. How much better does the situation need to be

for us to leave? He had taken Joe Lieberman’s dart and beaten it into a plowshare.

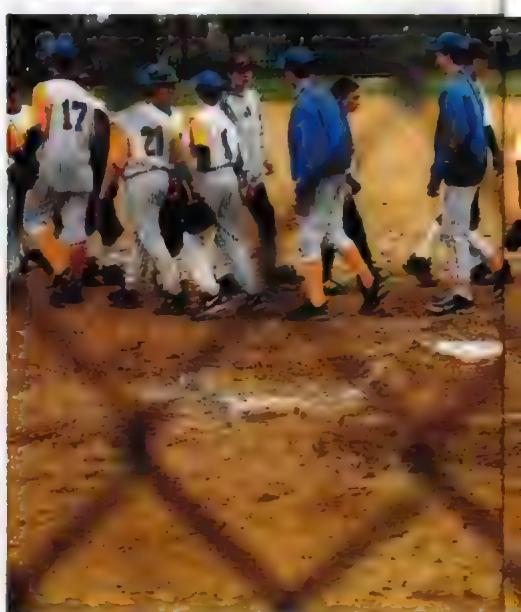
Obama’s question was slightly disingenuous. Few people believe that the Sunni Awakening movement—the insurgents who flipped to the U.S. side after a fling with al-Qaeda—would stay peaceful if the U.S. military weren’t there as a buffer between them and the Shi’ites. The Iraqi army remains a mess of militias in camouflage. But the U.S. has had a significant success in Iraq and dealt al-Qaeda-style extremism a resounding defeat. So why not continue the judicious withdrawal that has begun?

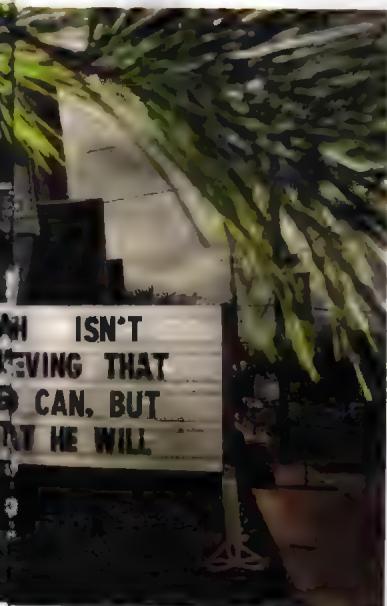
Because, it seems, the Bush Administration has other fish to fry. The first is Muqtada al-Sadr, whose movement features a defiant nationalism that is traditionally both anti-American and anti-Persian (although Sadrists elements have been willing to accept help from the Iranians in recent years). Under questioning from Hillary Clinton about the Maliki government’s recent abortive offensive against al-Sadr’s forces in Basra, Petraeus admitted that U.S. troops would have provided resources and “different actions” for a more carefully planned attack. An intelligence source told me that the operation had been planned for June.

That would have been extremely foolish. The U.S. would have been inserting itself into a part of Iraq that it doesn’t know very well—the south—and taking sides against what is probably the most popular mass movement in Shi’ite Iraq. But the Petraeus battle plan apparently includes an anti-Sadr move, which may mean a spurt of violence as widespread and vicious as the worst of the Sunni insurgency. Is that why the general wants a “pause” in the U.S. withdrawal this summer?

What could possibly be the rationale for this? Perhaps it is that al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army is the most potent force opposed to long-term U.S. bases in Iraq—and that a permanent presence has been the Bush Administration’s true goal in this war. I suspect the central question in Iraq now is not whether things will get better but whether the drive for a long-term, neocolonialist presence will make the situation irretrievably worse.

The U.S. has had a significant success in Iraq and dealt al-Qaeda-style extremism a resounding defeat. So why not continue the judicious withdrawal?





HOW AMERICA DECIDES

It's Their Turn Now

Pennsylvanians are next in line to cast votes for Clinton or Obama. How they decide may foreshadow the U.S. election in November

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

OF ALL THE PLACES DEMOCRATS could hunker down for a long fight in their epic 50-state scramble for the presidential nomination, Pennsylvania is perhaps the most illuminating. Politically speaking, when Pennsylvania gets the sniffles, America braces for a fever.

Just ask the first President Bush, whose approval ratings were the very picture of political health in the spring of 1991. Then a freak accident killed Pennsylvania's GOP Senator John Heinz, and in the special election to replace him, a liberal Democrat named Harris Wofford diagnosed an unease in the electorate about endangered jobs and affordable health care. Hammering at these issues, Wofford came from more than 40 points behind to defeat Bush's formidable friend Rich-

THE ISSUES

84%

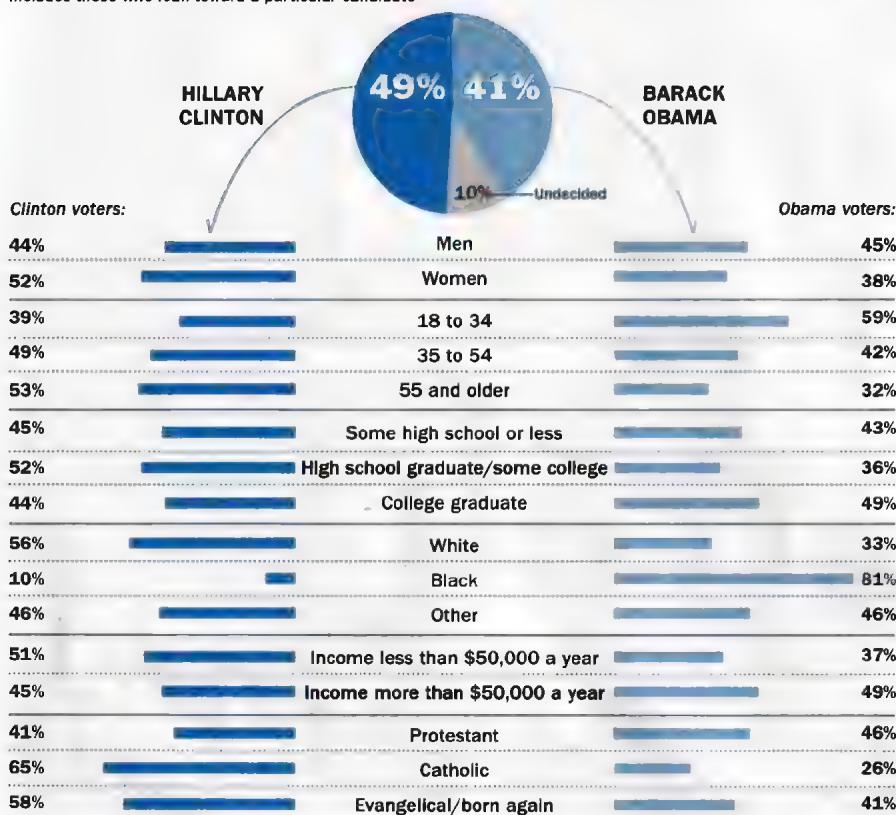
of Pennsylvania Democrats worry about being able to afford health care for themselves and their families

Pennsylvania portraits Clockwise from top left: Joanne Nguyen in Hatfield after her First Communion; showing the flag in Tylersport; a parochial-school baseball game and a church's inspirational message in Hatfield; antique cars in Earlington; support for Clinton near Philadelphia

TIME Poll. What Pennsylvania Democrats think

BASE OF SUPPORT Looking for votes beyond race and gender

If the Pennsylvania Democratic primary were held today, for whom would you vote?
Includes those who lean toward a particular candidate



BEHIND THAT SUPPORT Concerns about Washington, questions about race

Percentage who worry a "great deal" or a "fair amount" about these issues

	Clinton voters	Obama voters
The inability of Washington to solve problems	87%	91%
Being able to afford health care for my family and me	87%	83%
The possibility of future terrorist attacks in the U.S.	77%	63%
Being able to find a stable, well-paying job	67%	67%

Which comes closest to your view?

Racial discrimination is the main reason many black people can't get ahead these days

All voters	32%
Clinton voters	24%
Obama voters	43%

Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition

All voters	49%
Clinton voters	56%
Obama voters	40%

BOTTOM LINE Clinton voters more likely than Obama voters to pick John McCain

Asked of Obama voters:

If the presidential election is between Clinton and McCain, for whom are you more likely to vote?



Asked of Clinton voters:

If the presidential election is between Obama and McCain, for whom are you more likely to vote?



This TIME poll was conducted by telephone April 2-6 among 676 registered Democrats in Pennsylvania who said they were likely to vote in the primary election. The margin of error for the entire sample is ±4 percentage points. The margin of error is higher for subgroups. "Don't know" responses omitted from some questions in this chart. SRBI Public Affairs designed the survey. The full results can be found at www.srbi.com.

ard Thornburgh. A year later, Bill Clinton used the same platform to unseat Bush.

Of course, in the next election, Wofford lost his new seat in the conservative countervail that claimed so many Democratic victims. The state's political thermometer displays hot and cold for both political parties.

Pennsylvania is a swing state not because of a moderate disposition (it's no Iowa or New Mexico) but because it encompasses the incongruities of American society, from the bluest of blue-blooded aristocrats on Philadelphia's Main Line to the bluest of blue-collar guys in the bars of Aliquippa. It's urban; it's rural. It's the Mellon Bank; it's the United Mine Workers. It's Swarthmore; it's South Philly. It's Andy Warhol; it's Joe Paterno. In the early days, someone dubbed Pennsylvania the Keystone State because it was the place where North joined South. Today it is a psychic keystone. Pennsylvanians have supplied the nation's money, oil, coal, steel—and now its zeitgeist.

So, what are Americans learning as the April 22 primary draws near and Pennsylvanians decide which candidate to support? For one thing, those economic anxieties are back in full force. Every grumble of discontent heard over the win-

Pennsylvania was dubbed the Keystone State because it was the place where North joined South. Today it is a psychic keystone

ter months at other campaign stops has echoes in Pennsylvania, and Democrats appear invigorated. Since November, some 300,000 voters filed new registrations as Democrats to vote in this contest.

But something deeper is also going on. Pennsylvania is making it clear that the fight for the Democratic nomination is not just about personalities—the inevitable Obama vs. the indomitable Clinton, cocky vs. Rocky. The race is straining the fault lines of the Democratic Party.

While the chorus of pundits and party elders calling for her to run up a white flag continues, Hillary Clinton maintains her strong bond with the clock-punching white working people who have long been central to the Democratic identity. According to a new TIME poll of likely Democratic voters in the state, Clinton leads Obama 49% to 41%. Three and a half months after Obama's breakthrough win in Iowa, Joe

and Jo Lunchbucket still aren't buying the audacity of hope. Indeed, only 56% of Clinton's supporters said they were likely to vote for Obama in November if he is the nominee. (One in four would choose Republican John McCain; the rest couldn't or wouldn't say.) Clinton continues to be especially strong among white women—the largest constituency in the party.

Political scientist G. Terry Madonna of Franklin and Marshall College in southeastern Pennsylvania perceives a "pattern we've seen in other industrial states: Clinton starts with a big lead, Obama rushes in with a lot of TV and events, and the race tightens." Obama has barnstormed the state with newly detailed proposals for the economy and health care. He is outspending Clinton nearly 3 to 1 on the airwaves, Madonna says. Two of his most heavily played ads stress his humble roots and sound the populist trumpet. Yet Clinton's poll numbers in the state have averaged in the high 40s since early February. Her people don't appear to be budging.

"Once again, Pennsylvania is a harbinger," says Paul Begala, whose ties to the state go back to that seismic Wofford campaign in 1991, which Begala ran with his partner James Carville. But a harbinger of what, exactly? The Obama-Clinton fight has taken a standard party script and turned it upside down.

Working-class champion vs. faculty-club favorite is a Democratic chestnut. Obama descends from a long line of forefathers: Jerry Brown, Gary Hart, Paul Tsongas, Bill Bradley, Howard Dean. Principled, bookish, often aloof—nearly every campaign produces one, and they'd all be President if Presidents were chosen by the salons at Charlie Rose's round table. But Presidents are, in fact, chosen over the dinner tables of ordinary folks, who have an enduring immunity to the charms of such candidates. Obama, however, is a debugged and turbocharged version of the old model; he is expanding the affluent constituency by drawing in thousands of new voters and wedging it to the black vote. As a result, he's not losing, as the script would normally call for him to do.

That's what makes the race so unpredictable. We have a pretty good idea how Obama's coalition—the young, the blacks and the affluent—would have handled failure. It has had years of experience at losing gracefully and closing ranks with a smile. Democrats rarely have to worry about the urban centers or the college towns falling into line. Clinton's core constituency, by contrast, is a group that Democrats must win but frequently don't. Working-class whites, despite their historical ties to the Democratic Party, have shown time and



THE CANDIDATES

72%

of Democrats in Pennsylvania say it's more important that they agree with a candidate's positions than feel comfortable about his or her character

Wooling voters Obama greets supporters outside a town meeting in Wilkes-Barre, and Clinton stumps at the University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg. Democratic-voter rolls have swelled in the state

again that they will defect if they don't like the nominee. They jumped in large numbers to Dwight Eisenhower in the 1950s, to Richard Nixon in 1972, to Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush in the 1980s.

Eversince he launched his campaign in Lincoln's hometown of Springfield, Obama has been happy to have himself compared with the original skinny outsider from Illinois. But as this race goes on, the image of another Illinois icon looms. The shape of the Pennsylvania electorate, and the prospect of a contentious convention, evokes 1952, when Adlai Stevenson—the darling of "every thinking person," as one woman later famously phrased it—captured a fiercely contested nomination by putting the urban and the urbane blocs together. But he never won over the white working class, and that's why there never was a President Stevenson. ■

'What is best in me I owe to her.'

—BARACK OBAMA, *DREAMS FROM MY FATHER*

EACH OF US LIVES A LIFE OF contradictory truths. We are not one thing or another. Barack Obama's mother was at least a dozen things. S. Ann Soetoro was a teen mother who later got a Ph.D. in anthropology; a white woman from the American Midwest who was more comfortable in Indonesia; a natural-born mother obsessed with her work; a romantic pragmatist, if such a thing is possible.

"When I think about my mother," Obama told me recently, "I think that there was a certain combination of being very grounded in who she was, what she believed in. But also a certain recklessness. I think she was always searching for something. She wasn't comfortable seeing her life confined to a certain box."

Obama's mother was a dreamer. She made risky bets that paid off only some of the time, choices that her children had to live with. She fell in love—twice—with fellow students from distant countries she knew nothing about. Both marriages failed, and she leaned on her parents and friends to help raise her two children.

"She cried a lot," says her daughter Maya Soetoro-Ng, "if she saw animals being treated cruelly or children in the news or a sad movie—or if she felt like she wasn't being understood in a conversation." And yet she was fearless, says Soetoro-Ng. "She was very capable. She went out on the back of a motorcycle and did rigorous fieldwork. Her research was responsible and penetrating. She saw the heart of a problem, and she knew whom to hold accountable."

Today Obama is partly a product of what his mother was not. Whereas she swept her children off to unfamiliar lands and even lived apart from her son when he was a teenager, Obama has tried to ground his children in Illinois. "We've created stability for our kids in a way that my mom didn't do for us," he says. "My choosing to put down roots in Chicago and marry a woman who is very rooted in one place probably indicates a desire for stability that maybe I was missing."

Ironically, the person who mattered most in Obama's life is the one we know the least about—maybe because being partly African in America is still seen as being simply black and color is still a preoccupation above almost all else. There is not enough room in the conversation for the rest of a man's story.

But Obama is his mother's son. In his wide-open rhetoric about what can be



A Mother's

Barack Obama's greatest influence was a woman most people know nothing about. How her uncommon life shaped his views of the world

BY AMANDA RIPLEY/HONOLULU



Story

Firstborn Obama's mother, pictured here as a sophomore in high school, had her son at 18. She dropped out of college and went on food stamps

instead of what was, you see a hint of his mother's credulity. When Obama gets donations from people who have never believed in politics before, they're responding to his ability—passed down from his mother—to make a powerful argument (that happens to be very liberal) without using a trace of ideology. On a good day, when he figures out how to move a crowd of thousands of people very different from himself, it has something to do with having had a parent who gazed at different cultures the way other people study germs.

It turns out that Obama's nascent career peddling hope is a family business. He inherited it. And while it is true that he has not been profoundly tested, he was raised by someone who was.

In most elections, the deceased mother of a candidate in the primaries is not the subject of a magazine profile. But Ann Soetoro was not like most mothers.

Stanley Ann Dunham

BORN IN 1942, JUST FIVE YEARS BEFORE Hillary Clinton, Obama's mother came into an America constrained by war, segregation and a distrust of difference. Her parents named her Stanley because her father had wanted a boy. She endured the expected teasing over this indignity, but dutifully lugged the name through high school, apologizing for it each time she introduced herself in a new town.

During her life, she was known by four different names, each representing a distinct chapter. In the course of the Stanley period, her family moved more than five times—from Kansas to California to Texas to Washington—before her 18th birthday. Her father, a furniture salesman, had a restlessness that she inherited.

She spent her high school years on a small island in Washington, taking advanced classes in philosophy and visiting coffee shops in Seattle. "She was a very intelligent, quiet girl, interested in her friendships and current events," remembers Maxine Box, a close high school friend. Both girls assumed they would go to college and pursue careers. "She wasn't particularly interested in children or in getting married," Box says. Although Stanley was accepted early by the University of Chicago, her father wouldn't let her go. She was too young to be off on her own, he said, unaware, as fathers tend to be, of what could happen when she lived in his house.

After she finished high school, her father whisked the family away again—this time

to Honolulu, after he heard about a big new furniture store there. Hawaii had just become a state, and it was the new frontier. Stanley grudgingly went along yet again, enrolling in the University of Hawaii as a freshman.

Mrs. Barack H. Obama

SHORTLY BEFORE SHE MOVED TO HAWAII, Stanley saw her first foreign film. *Black Orpheus* was an award-winning musical retelling of the myth of Orpheus, a tale of doomed love. The movie was considered exotic because it was filmed in Brazil, but it was written and directed by white Frenchmen. The result was sentimental and, to some modern eyes, patronizing. Years later Obama saw the film with his mother and thought about walking out. But looking at her in the theater, he glimpsed her 16-year-old self. "I suddenly realized," he wrote in his memoir, *Dreams from My Father*, "that the depiction of childlike blacks I was now seeing on the screen... was what my mother had carried with her to Hawaii all those years before, a reflection of the simple fantasies that had been forbidden to a white middle-class girl from Kansas, the promise of another life, warm, sensual, exotic, different."

By college, Stanley had started introducing herself as Ann. She met Barack Obama Sr. in a Russian-language class. He was one of the first Africans to attend the University of Hawaii and a focus of great curiosity. He spoke at church groups and was interviewed for several local newspaper stories. "He had this magnetic personality," remembers Neil Abercrombie, a member of Congress from Hawaii who was friends with Obama Sr. in college. "Everything was oratory from him, even the most commonplace observation."

Obama's father quickly drew a crowd of friends at the university. "We would drink beer, eat pizza and play records," Abercrombie says. They talked about Vietnam and politics. "Everyone had an opinion about everything, and everyone was of the opinion that everyone wanted to hear their opinion—no one more so than Barack."

The exception was Ann, the quiet young woman in the corner who began to hang out with Obama and his friends that fall. "She was scarcely out of high school. She was mostly kind of an observer," says Abercrombie. Obama Sr.'s friends knew he was dating a white woman, but they made a point of treating it as a nonissue. This was Hawaii, after all, a place enamored of its reputation as a melting pot.

But when people called Hawaii a "melting pot" in the early 1960s, they meant a place where white people blended with Asians. At the time, 19% of white women in Hawaii married Chinese men, and that



Woman of the World

Ann seemed drawn to foreign men. First she married Kenyan **Barack Obama Sr.**, below, then Indonesian **Lolo Soetoro**, bottom middle with daughter **Maya** and **Barack**. She never owned a home, but she was most comfortable in Indonesia. She returned to the U.S. often, though, including in 1982 for a friend's wedding, bottom right with children, and in 1992 for **Barack's** marriage



was considered radical by the rest of the U.S. Black people made up less than 1% of the state's population. And while interracial marriage was legal there, it was banned in half the other states.

When Ann told her parents about the African student at school, they invited him over for dinner. Her father didn't notice when his daughter reached out to hold the man's hand, according to Obama's book. Her mother thought it best not to cause a scene. As Obama would write, "My mother

was that girl with the movie of beautiful black people playing in her head."

On Feb. 2, 1961, several months after they met, Obama's parents got married in Maui, according to divorce records. It was a Thursday. At that point, Ann was three months pregnant with Barack Obama II. Friends did not learn of the wedding until afterward. "Nobody was invited," says Abercrombie. The motivations behind the marriage remain a mystery, even to Obama. "I never probed my mother about the details.



Did they decide to get married because she was already pregnant? Or did he propose to her in the traditional, formal way?" Obama wonders. "I suppose, had she not passed away, I would have asked more."

Even by the standards of 1961, she was young to be married. At 18, she dropped out of college after one semester, according to University of Hawaii records. When her friends back in Washington heard the news, "we were very shocked," says Box, her high school friend.

Then, when Obama was almost 1, his father left for Harvard to get a Ph.D. in economics. He had also been accepted to the New School in New York City, with a more generous scholarship that would have allowed his family to join him. But he decided to go to Harvard. "How can I refuse the best education?" he told Ann, according to Obama's book.

Obama's father had an agenda: to return to his home country and help reinvent Kenya. He wanted to take his new family with him. But he also had a wife from a previous marriage there—a marriage that may or may not have been legal. In the end, Ann decided not to follow him. "She was under no illusions," says Abercrombie. "He was a man of his time, from a very patriarchal society." Ann filed for divorce in Honolulu in January 1964, citing "grievous mental suffering"—the reason given in most divorces at the time. Obama Sr. signed for the papers in Cambridge, Mass., and did not contest the divorce.

Ann had already done things most women of her generation had not: she had married an African, had their baby and gotten divorced. At this juncture, her life could have become narrower—a young, marginalized woman focused on paying the rent and raising a child on her own. She could have filled her son's head with well-founded resentment for his absent father. But that is not what happened.

S. Ann Dunham Soetoro

WHEN HER SON WAS ALMOST 2, ANN RETURNED to college. Money was tight. She collected food stamps and relied on her parents to help take care of young Barack. She would get her bachelor's degree four years later. In the meantime, she met another foreign student, Lolo Soetoro, at the University of Hawaii. ("It's where I send all my single girlfriends," jokes her daughter Soetoro-Ng, who also married a man she met there.) He was easygoing, happily devoting hours to playing chess with Ann's father and wrestling with her young son. Lolo proposed in 1967.

Mother and son spent months preparing to follow him to Indonesia—getting shots, passports and plane tickets. Until then, neither had left the country. After a long journey, they landed in an unrecognizable place. "Walking off the plane, the tarmac rippling with heat, the sun bright as a furnace," Obama later wrote, "I clutched her hand, determined to protect her."

Lolo's house, on the outskirts of Jakarta, was a long way from the high-rises of Honolulu. There was no electricity, and the streets were not paved. The country was transitioning to the rule of General Suharto. Inflation was running at more

than 600%, and everything was scarce. Ann and her son were the first foreigners to live in the neighborhood, according to locals who remember them. Two baby crocodiles, along with chickens and birds of paradise, occupied the backyard. To get to know the kids next door, Obama sat on the wall between their houses and flapped his arms like a great, big bird, making cawing noises, remembers Kay Ikranagara, a friend. "That got the kids laughing, and then they all played together," she says.

Obama attended a Catholic school called Franciscus Assisi Primary School. He attracted attention since he was not only a foreigner but also chubbier than the locals. But he seemed to shrug off the teasing, eating tofu and tempeh like all the other kids, playing soccer and picking guavas from the trees. He didn't seem to mind that the other children called him "Negro," remembers Bambang Sukoco, a former neighbor.

At first, Obama's mother gave money to every beggar who stopped at their door. But the caravan of misery—children without limbs, men with leprosy—churned on forever, and she was forced to be more selective. Her husband mocked her calculations

'She wasn't ideological. I inherited that, I think, from her. She was suspicious of cant.'

—BARACK OBAMA

of relative suffering. "Your mother has a soft heart," he told Obama.

As Ann became more intrigued by Indonesia, her husband became more Western. He rose through the ranks of an American oil company and moved the family to a nicer neighborhood. She was bored by the dinner parties he took her to, where men boasted about golf scores and wives complained about their Indonesian servants. The couple fought rarely but had less and less in common. "She wasn't prepared for the loneliness," Obama wrote in *Dreams*. "It was constant, like a shortness of breath."

Ann took a job teaching English at the U.S. embassy. She woke up well before dawn throughout her life. Now she went into her son's room every day at 4 a.m. to give him English lessons from a U.S. correspondence course. She couldn't afford the elite international school and worried he wasn't challenged enough. After two years at the Catholic school, Obama moved to a state-run elementary school closer to the

Child Support

It's unlikely that Obama's mother could have accomplished all she did—becoming a respected anthropologist with a Ph.D.—had she not had the lifelong backstop of her parents **Stanley and Madelyn Dunham** (pictured in undated snapshots with **Ann**, right, and with **Barack**, whom they helped raise)



new house. He was the only foreigner, says Ati Kisjanto, a classmate, but he spoke some Indonesian and made new friends.

Indonesia has the world's largest Muslim population, but Obama's household was not religious. "My mother, whose parents were nonpracticing Baptists and Methodists, was one of the most spiritual souls I ever knew," Obama said in a 2007 speech. "But she had a healthy skepticism of religion as an institution. And as a consequence, so did I."

In her own way, Ann tried to compensate for the absence of black people in her son's life. At night, she came home from work with books on the civil rights movement and recordings of Mahalia Jackson. Her aspirations for racial harmony were simplistic. "She was very much of the early Dr. [Martin Luther] King era," Obama says. "She believed that people were all basically the same under their skin, that bigotry of any sort was wrong and that the goal was then to treat everybody as unique individuals." Ann gave her daughter, who was born in 1970, dolls of every hue: "A pretty black girl with braids, an Inuit, Sacagawea, a little Dutch boy with clogs," says Soetoro-Ng, laughing. "It was like the United Nations."

In 1971, when Obama was 10, Ann sent him back to Hawaii to live with her parents

and attend Punahoa, an élite prep school that he'd gotten into on a scholarship with his grandparents' help. This wrenching decision seemed to reflect how much she valued education. Ann's friends say it was hard on her, and Obama, in his book, describes an adolescence shadowed by a sense of alienation. "I didn't feel [her absence] as a deprivation," Obama told me. "But when I think about the fact that I was separated from her, I suspect it had more of an impact than I know."

A year later, Ann followed Obama back to Hawaii, as promised, taking her daughter but leaving her husband behind. She enrolled in a master's program at the University of Hawaii to

Obama's mother spoke Indonesian, Javanese, French and beginner's Urdu. She traveled extensively in Africa and South Asia for her work and studies

study the anthropology of Indonesia.

Indonesia is an anthropologist's fantasy-land. It is made up of 17,500 islands, on which 230 million people speak more than 300 languages. The archipelago's culture is colored by Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim and Dutch traditions. Indonesia "sucks a lot of us in," says fellow anthropologist and friend Alice Dewey. "It's delightful."

Around this time, Ann began to find her voice. People who knew her before describe her as quiet and smart; those who met her afterward use words like *forthright* and *passionate*. The timing of her graduate work was perfect. "The whole face of the earth was changing," Dewey says. "Colonial powers were collapsing, countries needed help, and development work was beginning to interest anthropologists."

Ann's husband visited Hawaii frequently, but they never lived together again. Ann filed for divorce in 1980. As with Obama's father, she kept in regular contact with Lolo and did not pursue alimony or child support, according to divorce records.

"She was no Pollyanna. There have certainly been moments when she complained to us," says her daughter Soetoro-Ng. "But she was not someone who would take the detritus of those divorces and make judgments about men in general or love or allow herself to grow pessimistic." With each failed marriage, Ann gained a child and, in one case, a country as well.

Ann Dunham Sutoro

AFTER THREE YEARS OF LIVING WITH HER children in a small apartment in Honolulu, subsisting on student grants, Ann decided to go back to Indonesia to do fieldwork for her Ph.D. Obama, then about 14, told her he would stay behind. He was tired of being new, and he appreciated the autonomy his grandparents gave him. Ann did not argue with him. "She kept a certain part of herself aloof or removed," says Mary Zurbuchen, a friend from Jakarta. "I think maybe in some way this was how she managed to cross so many boundaries."

In Indonesia, Ann joked to friends that her son seemed interested only in basketball. "She despaired of him ever having a social conscience," remembers Richard Patten, a colleague. After her divorce, Ann started using the more modern spelling of her name, Sutoro. She took a big job as the program officer for women and employment at the Ford Foundation, and she spoke up forcefully at staff meetings. Unlike many other expats, she had spent a lot of time with villagers, learning their priorities and problems, with a special focus on women's work. "She was influenced by hanging out in the Javanese marketplace,"

Zurbuchen says, "where she would see women with heavy baskets on their backs who got up at 3 in the morning to walk to the market and sell their produce." Ann thought the Ford Foundation should get closer to the people and further from the government, just as she had.

Her home became a gathering spot for the powerful and the marginalized: politicians, filmmakers, musicians and labor organizers. "She had, compared with other foundation colleagues, a much more eclectic circle," Zurbuchen says. "She brought unlikely conversation partners together."

Obama's mother cared deeply about helping poor women, and she had two biracial children. But neither of them remembers her talking about sexism or racism. "She spoke mostly in positive terms: what we are trying to do and what we can do," says Soetoro-Ng, who is now a history teacher at a girls' high school in Honolulu. "She wasn't ideological," notes Obama. "I inherited that, I think, from her. She was suspicious of cant." He remembers her joking that she wanted to get paid as much as a man, but it didn't mean she would stop shaving her legs. In his recent Philadelphia speech on race, in which he acknowledged the grievances of blacks and whites, Obama was consciously channeling his mother. "When I was writing that speech," he told NBC News, "her memory loomed over me. Is this something that she would trust?" When it came to race, Obama told me, "I don't think she was entirely comfortable with the more aggressive or militant approaches to African-American politics."

In the expat community of Asia in the 1980s, single mothers were rare, and Ann stood out. She was by then a rather large woman with frizzy black hair. But Indonesia was an uncommonly tolerant place. "For someone like Ann, who had a big personality and was a big presence," says Zurbuchen, "Indonesia was very accepting. It gave her a sense of fitting in." At home, Ann wore the traditional housecoat, the batik *daster*. She loved simple, traditional restaurants. Friends remember sharing *bakso bola*



Obama women, the next generation The candidate in Iowa, with his wife Michelle and their daughters Malia, 9, and Sasha, 6

tenis, or noodles with tennis ball-size meatballs, from a roadside stand.

Today Ann would not be so unusual in the U.S. A single mother of biracial children pursuing a career, she foreshadowed, in some ways, what more of America would look like. But she did so without comment, her friends say. "She wasn't stereotypical at all," says Nancy Peluso, a friend and an environmental sociologist. "But she didn't make a big deal out of it."

Ann's most lasting professional legacy was to help build the microfinance program in Indonesia, which she did from 1988 to '92—before the practice of granting tiny loans to credit-poor entrepreneurs was an established success story. Her anthropological research into how real people worked helped inform the policies set by the Bank Rakyat Indonesia, says Patten, an economist who worked there. "I would say her work had a lot to do with the success of the program," he says. Today Indonesia's microfinance program is No. 1 in the world in terms of savers, with 31 million members, according to Microfinance Information Exchange Inc., a microfinance-tracking outfit.

While his mother was helping poor people in Indonesia, Obama was trying to do something similar 7,000 miles (about 11,300 km) away in Chicago, as a community organizer. Ann's friends say she was delighted by his career move and started every conversation with an update of her children's lives. "All of us knew where Barack was going to school. All of us knew how brilliant he was," remembers Ann's friend Georgia McCauley.

Every so often, Ann would leave Indonesia to live in Hawaii—or New York or even, in the mid-1980s, Pakistan, for a micro-

finance job. She and her daughter sometimes lived in garage apartments and spare rooms of friends. She collected treasures from her travels—exquisite things with stories she understood. Antique daggers with an odd number of curves, as required by Javanese tradition; unusual batiks; rice-paddy hats. Before returning to Hawaii in 1984, Ann wrote her friend Dewey that she and her daughter would "probably need a camel caravan and an elephant or two to load all our bags on the plane, and I'm sure you don't want to see all those airline agents weeping and rending their garments." At his house in Chicago, Obama says, he has his mother's arrowhead collection from Kansas—along with "trunks full of batiks that we don't really know what to do with."

In 1992, Obama's mother finally finished her Ph.D. dissertation, which she had worked on, between jobs, for almost two decades. The thesis is 1,000 pages, a meticulous analysis of peasant blacksmithing in Indonesia. The glossary, which she describes as "far from complete," is 24 pages. She dedicated the tome to her mother; to Dewey, her adviser; "and to Barack and Maya, who seldom complained when their mother was in the field."

In the fall of 1994, Ann was having dinner at her friend Patten's house in Jakarta when she felt a pain in her stomach. A local doctor diagnosed indigestion. When Ann returned to Hawaii several months later, she learned it was ovarian and uterine cancer. She died on Nov. 7, 1995, at 52.

Before her death, Ann read a draft of her son's memoir, which is almost entirely about his father. Some of her friends were surprised at the focus, but she didn't seem obviously bothered. "She never complained about it," says Peluso. "She just said it was something he had to work out." Neither Ann nor her son knew how little time they had left.

Obama has said his biggest mistake was not being at his mother's side when she died. He went to Hawaii to help the family scatter the ashes over the Pacific. And he carries on her spirit in his campaign. "When Barack smiles," says Peluso, "there's just a certain Ann look. He lights up in a particular way that she did."

After Ann's death, her daughter dug through her artifacts, searching for Ann's story. "She always did want to write a memoir," Soetoro-Ng says. Finally, she discovered the start of a life story, but it was less than two pages. She never found anything more. Maybe Ann had run out of time, or maybe the chemotherapy had worn her out. "I don't know. Maybe she felt overwhelmed," says Soetoro-Ng, "because there was so much to tell." —WITH REPORTING BY ZAMIRA LOEBIS AND JASON TEDJASUKMANA/JAKARTA

'When Barack smiles, there's just a certain Ann look. He lights up in a particular way that she did. There is this thing in his eyes.'

—NANCY PELUSO, A FRIEND OF ANN'S FROM INDONESIA

Remaking Poland

Improving economic prospects give Prime Minister Donald Tusk a chance to redress ills he's fought since the days of communism. But can he bring together both parts of his divided land?

BY ANDREW PURVIS/WARSAW

IT'S A GRAY, WINDSWEPT AFTERNOON in Warsaw, and Donald Tusk, the Polish Prime Minister, is running late. His flight in from Gdansk has been delayed by a storm; the schedule is tight. The Georgian President has come to visit, and then there's the weekend trip to Washington to talk over missile defense with George W. Bush. Three guests are waiting in the Chancellery when Tusk arrives. "I am not crazy about this job," he sighs, plunking down in an armchair and unbuttoning his jacket. That's understandable. Nineteen years after his country broke free from the Soviet bloc, it is still ridding itself of the effects of communist rule. Employment levels are among the worst in Europe. Roads, telecommunications and sewage lines are in terrible shape. As for Polish political life, Tusk admits, it can only be described as "weird."

And yet in some ways, Poles, including Tusk himself, have never had it so good. Leszek Balcerowicz, a former Finance Minister and the chief architect of Poland's post-communist reforms, says the country is living through "its best period in 300 years." The economy is growing, and the country's alliances with Europe and the U.S. are strong. Not since 1989, according to one recent survey, have the Polish people felt so optimistic about the direction their country is taking.

Tusk's election last October, moreover, may mark a new consolidation of Polish democracy. Where once 20 political parties vied for space in the Sejm (the Polish parliament), now a manageable four hold

the floor. For the first time since the end of communism, voters reaffirmed the ascendancy of Poland's economic conservatives. The post-communist left has now failed to win in two successive votes. Yet Tusk, 50, is keenly aware of the challenges ahead. His party has no experience in power, and he has been criticized by the opposition for being a "media star" without substance. "If the aim of government is not to disturb much, then he is a good PM," jokes Jaroslaw Flis, a political commentator at Krakow's Jagiellonian University.

In a lengthy interview, Tusk says his government's ambition is great: to complete the transformation to a free-market system begun almost two decades ago. The disastrous legacies of 45 years of communist rule—from a bloated bureaucracy to punishing unemployment—have yet to be cleared away, he says, and Poland cannot afford to waste more time. "We have no oil and gas," he says. "We don't have high tech. Our centers of development are far, far behind others. We will never be an extraordinary tourist attraction. Poland is quite a mediocre country in some regards. The only natural resource that we have, and with which we can compete, is freedom."

Making the Most of It

IT'S NOT MUCH TO GO ON, BUT JAN KRZYSZTOF Bielecki, Poland's Prime Minister in 1991, suggests Tusk can make the most of it. He has known Tusk since the two men were Solidarity activists in the 1980s, and they still play old-timers football together. "Tusk is pure striker," says Bielecki, now

Unfinished business
Tusk moved into the Chancellery vowing to complete Poland's free-market reforms



CEO of Bank Pekao, one of Poland's biggest financial institutions. "He is not a water boy or even central defender. He puts his head where others will only put their feet. And by that I mean that he has courage."

Tusk showed some on his early March visit to the U.S., when he told President George W. Bush that Poland's security interests would be harmed, not helped, by a U.S. plan to erect a missile shield on Polish territory. He said that Poland would reject the installation, which the U.S. says is aimed at deterring Iranian and North Korean missiles, unless Washington comes with concrete commitments to help Poland upgrade its own defense systems. He is also vehemently opposing Russia's latest demand that it be allowed to permanently station its officers on Polish soil to monitor the antimissile sites.

Tusk's line on the missiles was a particularly sharp departure from his predecessor, but not the only one. The previous government, led by Prime Minister Jaroslaw Kaczynski, whose identical twin Lech is still Polish President, was so plagued by

'The only natural resource that we have, and with which we can compete, is freedom.'

—PRIME MINISTER DONALD TUSK

in-fighting, scandal and sour relations with Poland's neighbors that Tusk's victory in last October's election can be partly ascribed to the relatively competent impression he makes. But Tusk's success also represents Poland's growing acceptance of free-market ideas. In 1993, an economically liberal forerunner to the party that Tusk co-founded in 2001 drew just 4% of the vote amid criticism that it was insensitive to the poor. In October, Tusk's Civic Platform, running on similar ideas, got 42%. (Since the election, support has climbed further to 60%.) In a recent survey, moreover, 42% of Poles identified themselves as being on the right in terms of their economic outlook, as against just 22% on the left. Even some rural areas in northern and western Poland that have traditionally backed the left or the populist right voted for Tusk this time, in the hope that a stronger economy would help improve their lot. Says veteran pollster Krzysztof Zagorski, "People expect ed Tusk to win, but not by this margin."

Many Poles hope the new government is more apt to address Poland's lingering economic ills, beginning with the fact that

nearly one-half the working-age population is not officially working, and public spending still soaks up 45% of GDP. Low investment in infrastructure means that it takes longer to drive from Warsaw to Krakow today than it did 10 years ago. Though the exodus is slowing, some 20% of young Poles seek their first jobs outside the country. "A poor country with a badly structured welfare state cannot become an economic tiger," says Balcerowicz. "If Poland is to become another Ireland it has to complete its fiscal reforms."

Bringing Them Home

TO THAT END, TUSK SAYS HE WANTS TO shrink government, curb central authority, "radically" deregulate, and cut taxes. The first priority, says Michał Boni, Tusk's chief economic adviser, is to discourage early retirement; nearly three in four Poles stop work by the time they are 55, more than anywhere else in Europe. By increasing pay and promoting retraining, says Boni, Poland could save up to \$13 billion in premature retirement benefits over the next 12 years. To lure younger Polish talent home, the government also wants to lower barriers to starting a business, and provide better science and technical education. "Some of this can seem tedious," says Tusk. "But for Poland there is no other way."

Tusk has never been out for the quick fix. Raised in Gdańsk as a member of the tiny Kashubian ethnic minority, he joined the anticommunist Solidarity movement in the 1970s while studying history at university. He was later forced by the authorities to work as a house-painter because of his dissident activities. Tusk shared with Lech Wałęsa and other Solidarity leaders an antipathy to the government that he says was self-evident: "Communism was something so hideous that you had to be an exceptional conformist or a fool not to see the evil around you."

In the mid '80s, Tusk and a group of other Solidarity intellectuals began publishing an underground monthly pamphlet featuring the writings of the liberal economist Friedrich Hayek and essays on private property. Their heroes were Ronald Reagan



Divided While cities like Wrocław prosper, top, much of rural Poland is held back by poor infrastructure

and Margaret Thatcher. "We had to wait many, many years for our way of thinking to be accepted in Poland," Tusk says. "But now it has been. And we are ready."

Not all Poles share his enthusiasm. Pollsters say that the October election marked the sharpest divide yet between Poland's rural and urban electorate. While the Civic Platform drew most of its support from what pollsters now refer to as Poland A—urban, educated, younger voters—the rural, older, more devout voters who make up Poland B favored Jarosław Kaczyński's Law and Justice Party (PiS) and other parties. In crude terms, the first group includes the winners of Poland's economic transition; the second group, the losers.

No place better exemplifies Poland A—Tusk's Poland—than the western uni-

versity town of Wrocław, which voted overwhelmingly for him. Poland's fourth largest city, situated on the Oder River close to the German border, was neglected under communism, its Gothic architecture blackened by coal dust and its shop shelves bare. Nowadays, the elegant old market square in the city center, once the site of a few scruffy museums, is lined with designer shops, sushi bars and restaurants. Companies from LG Philips (LCD screens) to Google (service support) have poured \$5 billion into the local economy in the past five years, creating 200,000 jobs in a city of just 650,000. The mayor's office reviewed 560 investment projects last year alone. Since 2002, unemployment dropped from 14% to under 5%. Mayor Rafał Dutkiewicz credits low production costs, a good loca-

'If Poland is to become another Ireland it has to complete its fiscal reforms.'

—LESZEK BALCEROWICZ, FORMER POLISH FINANCE MINISTER

tion near the autobahns to Western Europe and a deep pool of educated young workers: local universities graduate 24,000 students each year. To achieve similar results elsewhere, he says, Poland needs better infrastructure and less regulation. "Anything entrepreneurial is still looked upon with suspicion," says Dutkiewicz. "It's crazy! Let people make money."

But Wrocław is only one version of Poland. Many of the 40% of Poles who still live in smaller towns take a different view. In the village of Radecznica, nestled in rolling hills near the Ukrainian border, some 45% of the 6,500 inhabitants voted for the PiS in the last election; Tusk's party got only 10%. The region is poor: Radecznica's sole employer is a state mental institution. The town lacks paved roads and even a sewage system. Mayor Gabryel Gabka, 58, has applied for European Union money to build one. "But even if we get it, there may not be the people here to do the job," he says. As for Tusk's "liberal" agenda, says Lucjan Bednarz, a local PiS activist: "Only youngsters who are not yet able to have a stable opinion and who are influenced by certain TV programs adopt the kind of rootless, temporary opinions which are favorable to the Civic Platform." As for Tusk himself, says Bednarz, "So far, he hasn't shown anything." PiS supporters, by contrast, he says, "are devout. They go to church and they value patriotism. PiS gives them these values without promising a pie in the sky."

For Poland to flourish in the company of European nations, it has to help places like Radecznica. Tusk acknowledges as much. His party doesn't promote the *liberal* label and has tried to show a social conscience. During the past election, for example, unsanctioned text messages urged young voters to "hide your grandma's ID" (so that she couldn't vote PiS). The Civic Platform countered with a message that voters should bring Grandma along to the voting booth and explain to her that her future, too, depends on growth.

Tusk needs the cooperation of the opposition—and of Poland B—to push through the legislative changes he believes Poland needs. The opposition, both on the left and the populist right, is not disposed to tolerance. A failure to deliver on promises, PiS leader Jarosław Kaczyński warned recently, could produce "serious social conflict" and "social depression." Certainly Poland has had more than its share of both those ills. "I spent an important part of my life participating in conflicts," says Tusk. "But for me conflict was not the main principle." His central task is to heal the ideological divisions of the past and get Poland moving forward together as one. —WITH REPORTING BY BEATA PASEK/WARSAW

TIME Interview:

Just a Job. Tusk on his hopes, heroes and life at the top

What have you accomplished in your four months in office?

The government has been repairing Poland's image, and its relations with the European Union and the world. In the first 100 days we wanted to calm down the conflicts which for the past two years in Poland have devastated public debate. We are giving the citizens of Poland a sense that a reasonable and predictable government is ruling here.

Are you enjoying the job?

I got into politics a little bit by chance, as a person from the first generation of the Solidarity movement. I wanted to be an archaeologist. For many years I was a publisher. That was a nicer occupation.

Do you feel like you've sacrificed a lot to become Prime Minister?

I don't feel like I'm some kind of missionary. It's just a job. For the past 30 years, whenever I say, "It's hard, it's hard," my wife tells me, "Change jobs!" And she's right, of course.

How did your trade union colleagues in Solidarity view your free market ideas?

It was not possible to convince everyone. The key person was [Solidarity leader] Lech Wałęsa. A not-highly educated, some would say simple, man, but deeply clever, wise, with huge intuition. Wałęsa—this is his greatness—put Solidarity and his own authority in play to protect Poland's free market and pro Western orientation.

What lessons do you take from Wałęsa and other leaders?

Our heroes of the imagination were Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. They symbolized a tough attitude to the Soviet Union and they revitalized the idea of leading with freedom and traditional values, which seemed then to be dying out.

How do you get Poles working abroad to come home?

They are already coming back. Not only because of some miracle I promised, but because of the exchange rate and the saturation of Irish labor markets. So the problem of immigration for money is not a question of Poland being abandoned by millions of people forever. Still, the brain drain is a real problem.

What surprises you in Poland when you travel around?

What is depressing is the terrible impact of the communist system on the people, on the social order, and ... on Polish towns. Quality of life is not only about what you find in the shops; it's about the landscape.

How do you bridge the gap between urban and rural Poland?

It's also a geographical and historical divide. Western Poland tends to support the Civic Platform; eastern Poland supports the PiS. Those borderlines were shaped in the 14th and 15th centuries. To reach across them, the key thing is improving education.



No complexes Tusk and Bush in talks at the White House

Are you ever surprised to be negotiating with the likes of Putin or Bush?

It has become more natural than you would think. Politics itself is not sacred any more. All those heels are not that high. Poland is not a very large country, but it's also not a small country. I don't exclude the thought that somebody in the world will say, "Look at my compatriot standing next to Tusk. That's amazing!"

Lost in The Jungle

Three former American servicemen have been held captive in Colombia for five years—one of the longest hostage episodes in U.S. history. Why isn't the Bush Administration doing more to free them?

BY TIM PADGETT/BOGOTA

THE CESSNA'S SINGLE ENGINE could not have failed over a worse patch of Colombian jungle. On Feb. 13, 2003, four U.S. defense contractors and a Colombian police officer, on a routine surveillance flight looking for rural cocaine laboratories, made an emergency landing in southern Colombia. The area is a stronghold of the fierce Marxist guerrillas known as the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces, or FARC. Rebel soldiers swarmed over the shattered plane, shooting and killing its U.S. pilot, Thomas Janis, and the Colombian officer, Luis Cruz. They stripped the remaining Americans—Keith Stansell, Thomas Howes and Marc Gonsalves—of their clothes and belongings, put the men in chains and led them toward the mountainous rain forest.

It was a march into a tropical dungeon. When the Americans' bloody foot sores made it impossible to walk, says John Pinchao, a Colombian police officer who had been held with them until he escaped last spring, their captors gave them boots so small it made their steps only more agonizing. (The rebels finally hacked off the toes of the boots with machetes to lessen the pain.) Pinchao says the men trekked for days until they reached a FARC camp in the Sierra de la Macarena, where they were initially penned together in a slung cage whose low, barbed-wire ceiling prevented them from standing up. "Despite being held together like that, [FARC guards] forbade them from talking to each other," Pinchao said in a recent deposition.

Today, Stansell, 43, a former Marine; Howes, 54, a former State Department counternarcotics pilot; and Gonsalves, 35, a former Air Force intelligence officer, live in slightly better conditions, says Pinchao. Still, a video that police seized last fall

from FARC operatives in the capital, Bogotá, shows the men looking weak and depressed. They have now been in captivity for five years—one of the longest hostage episodes in U.S. history. Yet few Americans know about it. President George W. Bush has mentioned the hostages publicly only once, when he visited Colombia last year. "It's amazing and discouraging to think that these three guys, former U.S. servicemen, could be left behind and forgotten this way," says Lynne Stansell, Keith's stepmother, of Bradenton, Fla. "The Bush Administration has all but ignored them."

It seems in stark contrast to the crusade that French President Nicolas Sarkozy is waging for the release of another FARC hostage, former Colombian presidential candidate Ingrid Betancourt, who has dual French-Colombian citizenship and

Guerrilla country FARC fighters, opposite top, maneuver through dense jungle in western Colombia last November. Although the rebels have suffered several defeats at the hands of government forces, they continue to hold out in remote terrain in the south, opposite bottom





has often been held alongside the Americans. Sarkozy has sent a humanitarian mission to Colombia to gain access to the ill and emaciated Betancourt, 46, who was abducted in 2002. She "is in danger of imminent death," Sarkozy warned in a French TV broadcast aired in Colombia. "You who lead the FARC, you have a rendezvous with history ... Free Ingrid Betancourt." He has promised asylum for scores of imprisoned rebels whom Colombian President Alvaro Uribe now says he'll release in exchange for Betancourt. But since Uribe—a key U.S. ally whose father was killed by the FARC in 1983—sent his army across the Ecuadorian border last month to kill the group's No. 2 *comandante*, Raúl Reyes, the rebels appear deaf to the appeals. Reyes' death "provided the fatal blow to a humanitarian exchange," wrote Ivan Marques, an FARC leader, in a March 22 communiqué. That posture may bode ill for the U.S. hostages as well.

Stansell, Howes and Gonsalves were monitoring the jungle as part of a U.S. aid project called Plan Colombia. Begun in 2000, the plan has cost more than \$5 billion, making Colombia the fourth largest recipient of U.S. aid, after Iraq, Israel and Egypt. The plan is designed to combat both cocaine production and groups like the FARC that profit from the trade. Although Colombia has failed to stem cocaine production, the cash has at the very least helped rebuild Colombia's military, which in turn has knocked the FARC back on its heels. The rebels have seen their ranks of almost 20,000 fighters halved in the past five years, according to U.S. military intelligence, while their morale, territorial control and command structure are waning. "Each day the FARC is a less viable force," says Colombian Vice President Francisco Santos. "They have scant popular support." Indeed, while Uribe enjoys an 84% approval rating, tens of thousands of Colombians have staged marches this year condemning the guerrillas.

In that climate, there has been guarded hope that the FARC wants to discuss the release of the Americans and its more than 700 Colombian military, police and civilian hostages. U.S. Representative Jim McGovern of Massachusetts, who

Narco-dollars A dealer works at a clandestine lab in southern Colombia. The FARC makes millions protecting drug traffickers



Inside FARC

For more photos of the guerrillas' jungle operation, go to time.com/farc



Keith Stansell

AGE: 43

FAMILY: Divorced, four children

CONDITION TODAY: Back and leg injuries from plane crash; leishmaniasis, a skin condition common in jungle areas

GENE STANSELL, FATHER:

'Keith joined the Marines because it was the toughest branch. If anyone can survive, he can.'



Marc Gonsalves

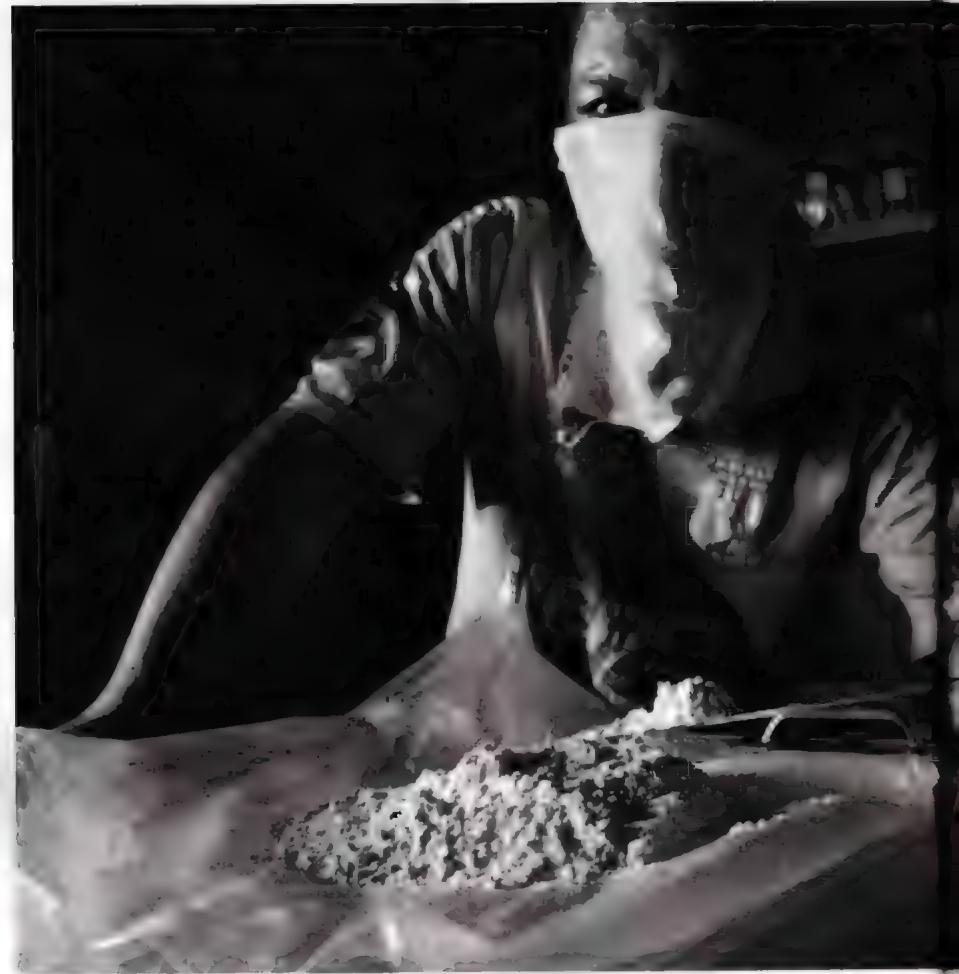
AGE: 35

FAMILY: Married, three children

CONDITION TODAY: Suffers back and leg pain from crash. Recovering from a bout of hepatitis

JO ROSANO, MOTHER:

'Marc always told me how beautiful Colombia was. It's "no more dangerous than New York."





Thomas Howes

AGE: 54

FAMILY: Married, two children

CONDITION TODAY: Regular headaches from blow to head received during crash; high blood pressure

IANA HOWES, WIFE

'The FARC always seems to come up with a reason for not advancing the [release] negotiations.'



is involved with the campaign to free the Americans, says, "The FARC seems engaged on this issue for the first time ever." Since the start of the year, the group has handed six hostages—including a Colombian congresswoman and a former vice-presidential candidate—to Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, a FARC sympathizer. But Colombia now accuses Chávez of supporting the FARC financially. (He denies it.)

Amidst those muddled Andean politics, a better hope for the Americans may be sitting inside U.S. jails. In 2004 and 2005, Colombia extradited to the U.S. two FARC leaders, Ricardo Palmera a.k.a. Simón Trinidad and Omaira Rojas a.k.a. Sonia. Sonia was convicted last year on drug charges and given 17 years in prison; Trinidad, convicted for conspiracy in the Americans' capture, was sentenced to 60 years in January. The FARC has made the pair's release a condition for the U.S. hostages' freedom. The U.S. has designated the FARC a terrorist group and can't negotiate with it. But U.S. sources say they're hearing signals the FARC might accept significantly reduced sentences for Sonia and Trinidad, which the two could win during their appeals. Says Alfredo Rangel, director of the Security and Democracy Foundation in Bogotá: "If a U.S. appellate judge cuts Trinidad's sentence to, say, below 20 years, it puts the ball in the FARC's court." Another possibility: the pair's transfer to, and lighter sentences in, prisons in France as part of the possible Betancourt exchange. "We aren't discounting [either] scenario," says a U.S. official familiar with the case.

U.S. sources stress they have as yet heard nothing concrete from the FARC. Meanwhile, the American hostages follow a dismal routine, say Pinchao and other recently released hostages. They are forced into days-long marches to new camps when the FARC fears the military is close. Their rice-and-bean meals are varied only when they're near a river or an area where wild pigs roam, and they often fight illnesses like hepatitis with only poorly trained nurses to treat them. (The FARC refuses visits by Red Cross medical teams.)

Pinchao, 37, says Stansell taught him how to swim during river-bathing sessions—a skill that later helped him escape. Stansell also tries to keep the hostages' spirits up. "Keith even learned how to tell jokes in Spanish," he recalls. Like Stansell, Gonsalves and Howes have children in the U.S. Howes, from Massachusetts, has eased his depression by adopting a stray dog. Gonsalves, of Connecticut, spends his days lifting makeshift weights and reading a Spanish Bible. The men cannot receive letters but do hear news of their families broadcast on Colombian radio.

At the time of their capture, all three men had been working for Northrop Grumman, a defense contractor, which continues to pay the families their salaries. Former Grumman pilots have criticized the company for using single-engine planes over such dangerous turf. In March 2003, three Grumman employees died in a single-engine-plane crash during a search for the hostages. (The U.S. now requires that twin-engine aircraft be used there.)

But the hostages' families ask why the Bush Administration didn't provide more military backup on the contractors' Colombian missions. "Did they really never think this sort of thing could happen?" asks Gonsalves' mother Jo Rosano, of Bristol, Conn. "They sent civilians into a place they knew the rebels would be, and we get the impression they don't care." Rosano and others credit the new U.S. ambassador to Colombia, William Brownfield, with bringing urgency to the case. "We need to remind Americans," Brownfield says, "that three of their own are being held in abominable conditions that violate every conceivable standard of international human-rights law."

The Americans' captivity is part of the broader haggling between the Colombian government and the FARC over how to revive peace talks in a four-decade-old civil war that has left some 40,000 dead and millions more displaced. Racked by social inequities, Colombia has endured internecine violence for much of the past 100 years. "The FARC are like fish born in a tank that remains their entire world," says Foreign Minister Fernando Araújo, who was a hostage for six years before escaping in 2006. "They're convinced they have the right to violently terrorize others." But the same is often said of the military, long accused of killing innocent rural civilians and fostering right-wing, cocaine-trafficking paramilitary armies, vicious groups the government has only recently begun to dismantle. As a result, some in the U.S. Congress are balking at a free-trade pact with Colombia.

Since taking office in 2002, Uribe has made impressive progress with Colombia's security and economy. But there is scant contact between him and the FARC, which is far from vanquished. "I'm killing myself every day wondering why dialogue is so impossible for all sides in this tragedy," says Betancourt's mother Yolanda Pulecio. At least Betancourt is a cause célèbre in France. In their jungle encampments, America's hostages in Colombia are not just out of sight; to all but their families and supporters, they seem to be out of mind too. —WITH REPORTING BY SIBYLLA BRODZINSKY/BOGOTÁ AND BRUCE CRUMLEY/PARIS

Taking On the Big Man

Morgan Tsvangirai has been attacked and arrested for challenging Zimbabwe's despot Robert Mugabe. Now he may be on the verge of unseating him

BY ALEX PERRY/CAPE TOWN

MORGAN TSVANGIRAI HAS BEEN THIS close before. In 2002 he was widely thought to have won Zimbabwe's presidential election, beating the country's tyrannical leader, Robert Mugabe. But according to most independent observers, Mugabe had the results fixed, extending his tenure as Zimbabwe's only ruler since independence in 1980. Now Tsvangirai is trying to avoid being robbed again. Results of the March 29 general election have not yet been announced, but the Zimbabwe Election Commission indicates that his Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) has seized the parliamentary majority from Mugabe's Zanu-PF. Tsvangirai is sure he's won the presidential vote. But

'We need to shift from focusing on our independence and start focusing on our prosperity and freedom.'

—MORGAN TSVANGIRAI, ZIMBABWE'S MAIN OPPOSITION LEADER

Mugabe, 84, is demanding a recount and a runoff for the presidency, fueling fears of another vote fix. His supporters have launched a campaign of violence across the country. Tsvangirai calls it "a de facto military coup."

Tsvangirai is trying to fight Mugabe in the courts and persuade other African countries to pressure one of the continent's last Big Men—powerful figures who, like Mugabe, led their nations to independence from colonial rule but then turned into despots—to go quietly into the night. Zimbabwe's turn, says Tsvangirai, is long overdue. Speaking to TIME by phone from an undisclosed location in Zimbabwe, he said, "We need to shift from focusing on our

independence and start focusing on our prosperity and freedom."

It will be a long battle. Decades of misrule have turned Zimbabwe into an economic basket case. Inflation is 100,000%, unemployment 80%, and up to 1 million people (out of a population of 12 million) have fled to neighboring South Africa. "We are very conscious that it's very difficult to fight dictatorship with democratic means," Tsvangirai says. "We're taking on the whole edifice, a dictatorship that has been institutionalized into all the organs of state. It's a very big mountain we have to climb." If replacing Mugabe isn't hard enough, ruling the country he leaves behind will be a herculean task.

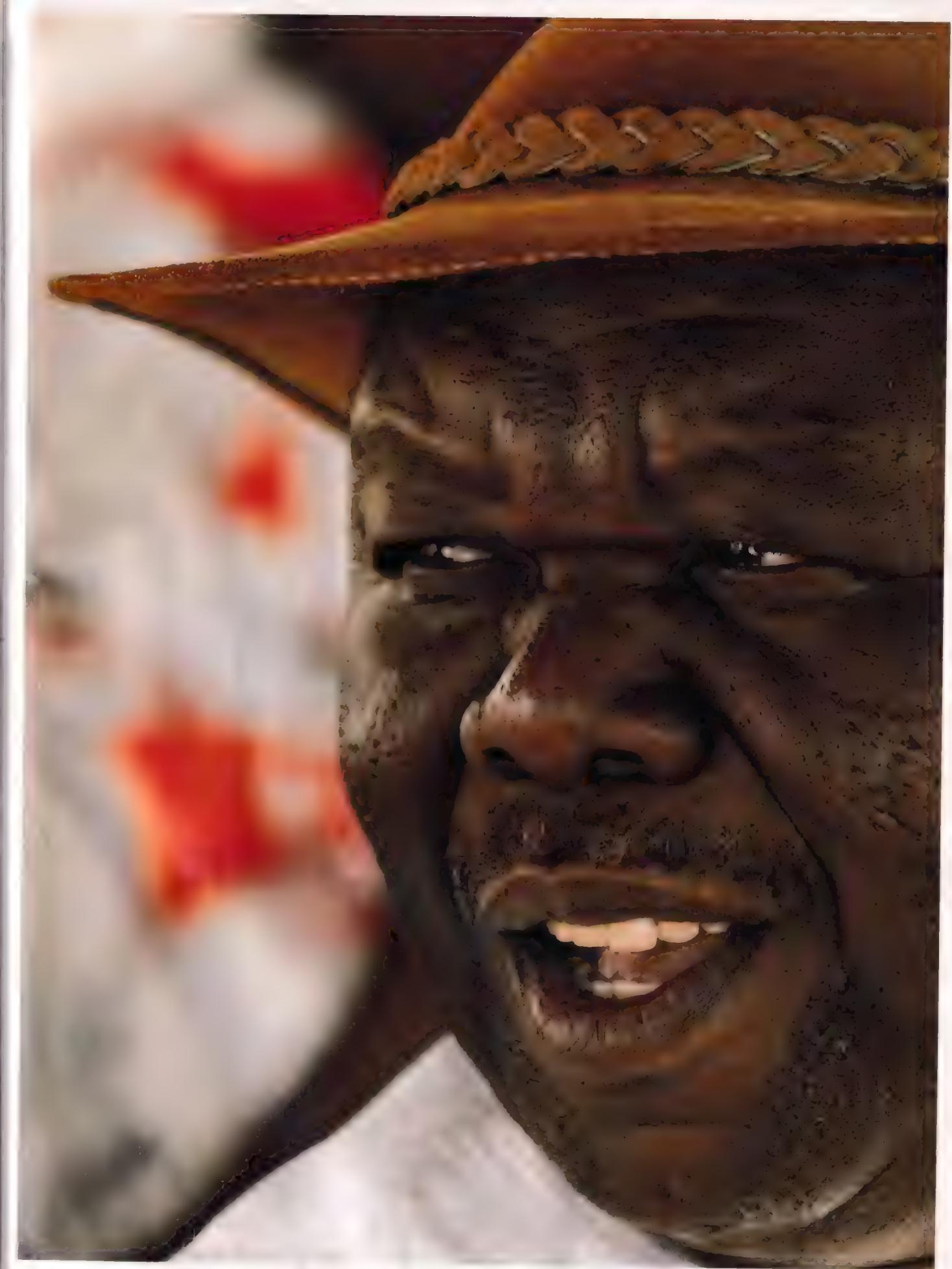
Tsvangirai, 56, became accustomed to responsibility at an early age. The son of a carpenter and bricklayer from Gutu, south of the capital, Harare, and the eldest of nine, he quit school early to work the nickel mines of Mashonaland in northern Zimbabwe. In 10 years, he rose from plant operator to general foreman. Under the white government of the time, there was more than one way for a political aspirant to agitate for change. Mugabe fought for freedom; Tsvangirai chose the mine-workers union. In 1980, Mugabe, then 56, inaugurated a free Zimbabwe. Eight years later, Tsvangirai became secretary-general of the Zimbabwean trade-union movement. Outraged by Mugabe's growing tyranny, Tsvangirai's unions broke with the state.

The move earned him admirers and enemies. In 1997 a group of men thought to be from Mugabe's secret service, the Central Intelligence Organization, burst into Tsvangirai's 10th-floor offices in Harare and tried to hurl him through a window, but Tsvangirai fought off his attackers. He formed the opposition MDC in 1999. Despite at least three other attempts on his life and, according to the MDC, four arrests, he has fought Mugabe in every election since.

The physical contrast between Tsvangirai and Mugabe emphasizes the gulf between them. Tsvangirai is ebullient and casual, wears cowboy hats and has the burly figure of a man fond of food. Mugabe sports a tiny Hitler mustache and favors tailored suits but sometimes wears shirts and baseball caps bearing images of his own face. The two men appeal to different sections of Zimbabwean society—Mugabe to rural villagers and liberation stalwarts, Tsvangirai to the young and the urban.

Tsvangirai is short on specifics of how he would improve on Mugabe. The emphasis is on doing what the 84-year-old has not done. The opposition's manifesto promises "a sound economy, agriculture and livelihoods, a new constitution and good governance"; leadership on HIV/AIDS, which has infected 2.3 million people; and empowering the youth. In a softening of Mugabe's policy, white-owned farms would not be handed back to their former owners. Rather, the government would curb "corrupt and self-serving" land seizures while remaining committed to "systematic land reform that benefits the black people of Zimbabwe." On the question of whether to hold the Mugabe regime accountable for its crimes, Tsvangirai has offered to be flexible in order to secure its departure.

Tsvangirai's record as Zimbabwe's main opposition leader has some blemishes. In 2005 the MDC split in two after a breakaway faction questioned what it perceived as Tsvangirai's autocratic tendencies. The division led to doubts about his leadership skills. "There are some real concerns about him and his ability," says Alex Vines, head of the Africa Program at Chatham House in London. Tsvangirai's response: "Every leader has his faults. I am not a perfect human being." After 28 years of Mugabe, Zimbabweans may be happy to settle for less than perfect. —WITH REPORTING BY WILLIAM LEE ADAMS/LONDON



IN 1984, CARDINAL JOSEPH RATZINGER dropped by New York City. He was heading home to the Vatican from a conference in Dallas and had saved a day to tour what was then still regularly called the Big Apple. According to Father James O'Connor, who was acting as his chauffeur, Ratzinger sat in the front seat, the better to take in the hustle and buzz of the city. They visited the (Episcopal) Cathedral of St. John the Divine, the medievally furnished Cloisters museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. On the way to Kennedy Airport, the car stalled halfway through the Midtown Tunnel, between Manhattan and Queens. O'Connor trudged to the Queens side, where he found a mechanic, who happened to be a Jordanian Catholic. The mechanic recognized the Cardinal and rushed to his aid. O'Connor recalls Ratzinger, up and running again, saying "There is every sort of person in New York, and they're all helpful." A few minutes later, just after he stepped out onto the curb at J.F.K., someone rear-ended the car, shattering the back window.

Despite such sweet and sour experiences (including one in 1988 that produced the memorable tabloid headline **GAYS PROTEST VATICAN BIGGY**), the Pope likes New York and what it stands for. "I think he's really fascinated by the city and what it represents," says Raphaela Schmid, a Rome-based German with the Becket Fund for Religious Liberty, who knows him. "It's about people being two things at once, like Italian Americans or Chinese Americans. He's interested in that idea of coexistence."

That observation captures an often ignored side of the German-born Pope Benedict XVI, 80, on the eve of his first pontifical visit to the U.S. The trip, which begins in Washington on April 15 and ends in New York City on April 20, will present most Americans with their first opportunity to take the "new" Pope's measure. Some American Catholics already feel they are familiar with Benedict and his values and coexistence is not an association that immediately crops up. Benedict clearly lacks his predecessor's charismatic affability and sense of the dramatic gesture. His conservative writings suggest a divergence from a large part of the U.S. laity, whom he regards as victims of the moral relativism he feels pervades Western culture. Given his past role as the Vatican's enforcer of orthodoxy, he might not seem to have any particular affinity for the democratic, pluralistic

RELIGION

The American Pope

On the eve of Benedict XVI's first papal visit to the U.S., a revealing look at his long fascination with America and how it is shaping his vision for the world

BY DAVID VAN BIEMA AND JEFF ISRAELY



Papal Diplomacy. Once chilly, U.S.-Vatican relations have grown steadily warmer over the past 50 years



1899
The Americanist heresy
The U.S. church is so ill respected that Pope Leo XIII names a heresy after its progressive social ideals



1962-65
Second Vatican Council
By endorsing many of those very principles, Vatican II establishes the U.S. as a theological power



1965
First papal visit
Pope Paul VI becomes the first Pontiff to visit the U.S., meeting L.B.J. and celebrating Mass in Yankee Stadium

1968
Ignoring a Pope
Paul VI reaffirms the church's ban on birth control; most American Catholics choose to ignore it



1979
John Paul II arrives
His weeklong visit takes the U.S. by storm. An Iowa minister says, "You got a Pope who knows how to pope."

values that constitute (on good days) the American brand.

And yet that last perception is particularly flawed. A survey of the 80-year old Pontiff's writings over the decades and testimonies from those who know him suggests that Benedict has a soft spot for Americans and finds considerable value in his U.S. church, the third largest Catholic congregation in the world. Most intriguing, he entertains a recurring vision of America that Americans sometimes lose sight of: an optimistic and diverse but essentially pious society in which faiths and a faith-based conversation on social issues are kept vital by the Founding Fathers' decision to separate church and state. It's not a stretch to say the Pope sees in the U.S.—or in some kind of idealized version of it—a civic model and even an

inspiration to his native Europe, whose Muslim immigrants raise the question of religious and political coexistence in the starker terms. Says David Gibson, author of *The Rule of Benedict: Pope Benedict XVI and His Battle with the Modern World*: "As he tours the U.S., it's important to underscore that his philosophy has more consonances with [American] culture than meet the eye—some very profound."

What, if anything, does this American attachment mean, either about him or about how he sees America's place in the world? It does not necessarily translate into uncritical support for the Bush Administration's foreign policies or into willingness to overlook the U.S. Catholic Church's sexual-abuse scandal. But an examination of his lifetime of visiting and writing about the U.S. provides an insight into what drives the Pope: his intellectual curiosity; his firm commitment to combine faith with practical reason, and his search for national models that can accommodate Catholicism as the vibrant minority—a position that he feels may be its next world role. It is also a rather touching valentine and a testament to Benedict's surprising openness toward a very different culture that he sees the U.S. as the world's best example of how such things can be done.

The pope's admiration for the U.S. has deep roots. Unlike John Paul II, who was intellectually and theologically fully formed when he met his first Americans, Ratzinger first observed them when he was 18. As a defeated German soldier, he spent three months in a POW camp but was then allowed to return home and witness one of the great modern acts of charity, the rebuilding of Germany by an occupying force that could just as easily have exacted revenge. Cardinal William Levada, the Californian whom Benedict tapped as his successor at the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF), says, "He's of a generation that remembers, gratefully."

Ratzinger's next American exposure came during the momentous Second Vatican Council in Rome, from 1962 to '65. Then in his early 30s, Ratzinger was a theological wunderkind who made his name behind the scenes. The U.S. delegation, meanwhile, was embroiled in a contentious debate over religious freedom. Conservatives opposed it: states must sponsor faith, and the faith should be Roman Catholic. The Americans argued that religious liberty was morally imperative and—from experience—that in a multireligious state, Catholicism could

Ratzinger believes in America's 'obvious spiritual foundation,' its natural, Puritan-instilled DNA

**1987****Allies against communism**

Ronald Reagan greets John Paul II in Miami during the cold war endgame

**1998****A visit next door**

Some Americans think John Paul should not go to Cuba, but most in the end feel the trip is a triumph

**2002****Emergency parley**

The ailing Pontiff summons the U.S. Cardinals for a closed-door discussion of the priest sexual-abuse scandal

2008**The papal welcome**

In February, Benedict XVI receives the credentials of Mary Ann Glendon as ambassador to the Holy See

best thrive when the government could not play favorites. The council sided with them, and Ratzinger, anticipating a world composed of jostling religious pluralities, heartily approved. In a 1966 analysis, he wrote, "In a critical hour, Council leadership passed from Europe to the young Churches of America and [their allies]," who "were really opening up the way to the future."

After Vatican II, Ratzinger embarked on a more conservative path. The embrace of religious plurality, in his view, did not extend to an acceptance that all roads to salvation are equal or to a license for democracy within his church. During 24 years as the prefect of the CDF, Ratzinger earned the nickname "God's Rottweiler," savaging suspected heresies, mostly liberal ones, and ending the careers of several old Vatican II allies. Americans were not exempt.

But he also came to respect the way Catholic leaders in the U.S. went about their business. A current (non-American) CDF official notes that the U.S. church is the only one that keeps a "serious" doctrinal office rather than an unthinking rubber stamp or an old-boys' club; when conflicts arise, its bishops are actually prepared to discuss them. Moreover, says Levada, "he seems to recognize that

[Americans are] plain speakers. [They] don't hide behind words."

The Pope also admires the Americans' role as, in the words of one cleric, "intellectual first responders," especially as the country's great network of Catholic hospitals wrestles with novel problems of medical ethics. "Through the great sphere of worldly experience that the Church has in America," Benedict wrote, "as well as through her faith experience, decisive influences can be passed on." He has shown his comfort with the direct and thoroughly American approach by appointing Americans to the No. 1 and No. 3 spots in his powerful former office.

The most rapt expression of the Pope's enthusiasm for the U.S. came in a high-minded 2004 dialogue with the president of the Italian Senate, Marcello Pera, published as the book *Without Roots*. It bemoans the European Union's refusal to acknowledge Christianity in a draft constitution, and Pera wonders about bringing back some kind of multidenominational "Christian civil religion." In response, Ratzinger cites Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* and makes the case that America's Founding Fathers were pious men of different denominations who wrote the First Amendment prohibiting

state establishment (that is, sponsorship) of religion precisely because sponsorship would stifle all non-established creeds—which they hoped would achieve full and varied flower.

Of course, no such bloom would occur if the American soil were not already faith-saturated. But Ratzinger believes in America's "obvious spiritual foundation," its natural, Puritan-instilled DNA. He is well aware that this is eroding; he thinks Americans watch too much TV and fears their secularization is proceeding at an "accelerated pace." But he insists that there is a "much clearer and implicit sense" in the U.S. than in Europe of a morality "bequeathed by Christianity." He has also given earnest thought to the mechanics of this civil religion, specifying that to affect the moral consensus, it is not enough for Catholics to rub shoulders with other Christians; they must translate their concerns from doctrinal language into a "public theology" accessible to all.

His American Flock

IT MAY BE THAT BENEDICT, WHO HAS sometimes seemed ready to trade a larger, lukewarm flock for a small, fervent one, is studying how to be small effectively. Says a church official whose thoughts usually

reflect his boss's: "The American church has always had to live the minority experience, and that's where the universal church is headed." In fact, the American church has not really shrunk much. At 24% of the population, Catholics remain a pivotal voting bloc, especially in swing states like Pennsylvania, where they appear to favor Hillary Clinton by sizable margins. A recent poll by the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life found that a quarter of the country's cradle Catholics had left the fold. But they are being replaced by a few converts and a lot of (Mass-attending!) Hispanic immigrants, and remarkably, such churn is about par across the American religious landscape.

Although the Catholic priest shortage continues in the U.S., the priest-abuse scandals have not sparked a massive parishioner exodus. (Benedict is expected to address the topic on this trip, but there have been no leaks as to how.) Perhaps out of relief that he has been writing encyclicals about love and charity rather than heresy, U.S. Catholics seem to be treating him a lot like former Pontiffs: handing him a 70% approval rating while continuing to ignore church teaching on birth control and abortion.

In any case, Benedict often seems less interested in scolding American Catholics than in talking up "new religious communities ... being formed who quite consciously aim at a complete fulfillment of the demands of religious life." In the U.S., that could mean schools like Thomas Aquinas College in Santa Paula, Calif.; Christendom College in Front Royal, Va.; and Ave Maria University in Ave Maria, Fla. The numbers are tiny—the three colleges combined claim some 1,200 undergrads—but they are precisely the kind of eruptions of non-state-related religious vitality at which he thinks the U.S. excels.

There are times when Benedict's love affair with American religious pluralism seems a bit naive, especially when it clashes with his nonnegotiable doctrinal stands. *Without Roots* had wonderful things to say about Protestantism as the genius of American religiosity and burnished the alliance between Catholic conservatives and

American Evangelicals against abortion. But in 2000 and more acidly in 2007 (after he became Pope), the Vatican released documents describing Protestant churches as suffering from ecclesiastical "defects," adding that "it is difficult to see how the title of 'Church' could possibly be attributed to them." Some of Benedict's new allies were a bit stunned.

When Benedict zings the Protestants or his proxies zap scientific atheists, he is actually engaging in cultural pluralism American-style, which resembles a political talk show more than a stately seminar on the U.S. Bill of Rights. The desire to keep talking while airing real differences may also be influencing his policy toward Islam



What will he see? Benedict can once again measure reality against his American ideal

(which, as the Vatican noted in March, has just replaced Catholicism as the world's most populous faith). After a startling 2006 speech in which he quoted a source calling Muhammad evil, prompting enraged extremists to burn churches and kill a nun in Somalia, Benedict entered into a dialogue with Islamic clerics who sent an open letter expressing a more conciliatory if sometimes critical response. None of the parties are departing from their theology, but out of frankness, a tenuous bridge seems to have been built.

This may hold some implicit lessons about how Benedict feels the U.S. and its allies should interact with Islam. The Pope has refused to accept pre-emptive war as just, and a confidant recalls him shaking his fists and shouting "Basta!"—Enough!—back in the early days of the Iraq war. He may be trying to model a

clash of civilizations without bloodshed. As Roberto Fontolan, the Vatican-savvy spokesman of the lay group Communion and Liberation, puts it, "Let's not talk about dogma. Or whether my God is better than your God. Let's talk about reason that we both have as a gift from God. What does it tell us?"

Benedict's Quest

REASON IS A WORD THAT SURFACES REPEATEDLY in conversations about the Pope and the U.S. Benedict's critics regularly accuse him of Vatican II revisionism—of downplaying the idea that Catholics may legitimately balance church teaching against the demands of their conscience. More broadly, they accuse him of minimizing the degree to which the Holy Spirit led the council to make substantial changes in the faith. But he remains true to the Vatican II precept of complementing blind piety that prevailed in the church before the 1960s with the rationalism of the Enlightenment and thus with modernity.

He is hardly the first: John Paul II described faith and reason as the twin wings that lift the church. And yet a balanced takeoff has remained elusive. The U.S. is one of the few places where it seems to happen regularly. "America is simultaneously a completely modern and a profoundly religious place. In the world, it is unique in this," says a senior Vatican official. "And Ratzinger wants to understand how those two aspects can coexist." Almost all the things the Pope likes about Americans—their faith in the real value of plain-spokenness, their pluralistic piety and even their wrangles around applying religiously grounded moral principles to increasingly abstruse science—can be understood in light of this quest. If he finds answers in the U.S., they could help define his papacy.

When he arrives on U.S. soil on April 15, we in the press will no doubt be parsing Benedict's every sentence for his opinions on U.S. policy or remonstrance of American morals. But the most important waves emanating from this contact may reverberate well beyond tomorrow's news cycle. John Paul II and the U.S. played as anticommunist co-leads on the 20th century stage. This Pope, more a student of global drama than an eager protagonist, knows that rising religious conflict may be the 21st century's great challenge. He also appears to sense that American power alone won't solve it—but that the power of American values still might. In rummaging through these founding precepts for a path for his own purposes, he might find something important for Americans to remember too.

'America is simultaneously a completely modern and a profoundly religious place.'

—A SENIOR VATICAN OFFICIAL

Global Business

□ FINANCE □ MANUFACTURING □ TECHNOLOGY □ TRADE □ MANAGEMENT □ MARKETS

MANAGEMENT

Wake-Up Time.

Starbucks' Howard Schultz is trying to put a jolt into the company that turned coffee into an iconic brand

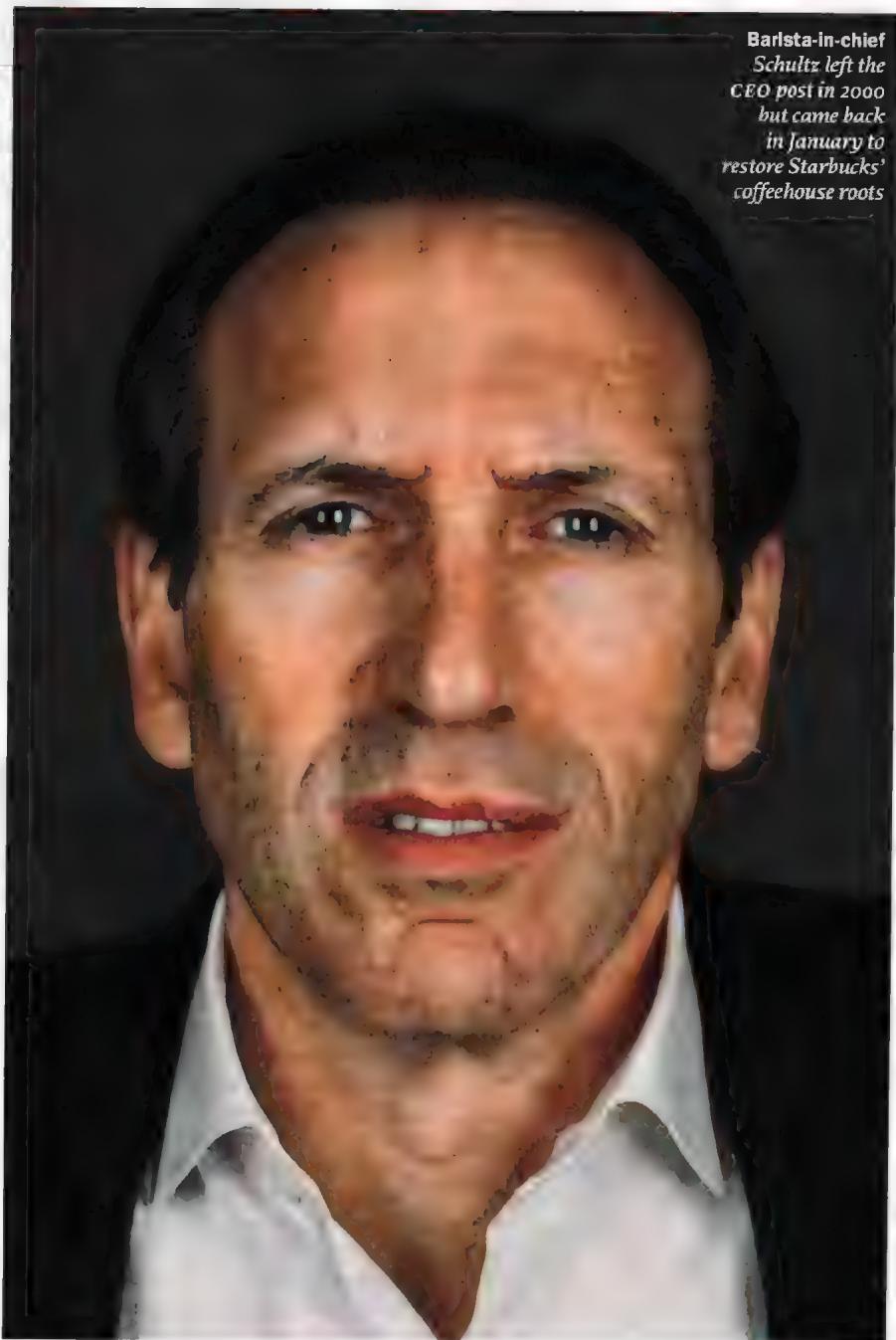
BY BARBARA KIVIAT/SEATTLE

I'M WALKING UP TO A STARBUCKS with Howard Schultz when we spot a barista standing in the parking lot, passing 11 cups of coffee through a car window. "I've never seen that," says Schultz, who took over Starbucks in 1987 and transformed it from a six-shop seller of beans into a thread that runs through our social tapestry. He asks the barista what she's doing. She says the drive-through order was so large she decided to bring it out. Schultz waves to the driver to roll down her window—"Where are they going with 11 beverages?" he wants to know—but as he approaches the car, the driver speeds away. Sometimes it's tough to connect with your customers. But Schultz is trying. Very, very hard.

Starbucks has been so successful, it may seem unassailable, untouchable—unavoidable. It's not. In fact, the company has had a very difficult year. Traffic at U.S. stores dropped for the first time in its history, and then comparable-store sales—a key measure of a retailer's health—turned negative, too. Its stock has slid some 40% in the past 12 months, shaving more than \$400 million from Schultz's personal bean pile.

But perhaps most hurtful have been the

Barista-in-chief Schultz left the CEO post in 2000 but came back in January to restore Starbucks' coffeehouse roots



mounting complaints from customers, employees and even Schultz himself that in its pursuit of growth, the company has strayed too far from its roots. As Schultz memorably wrote to the company's top execs on Valentine's Day, 2007, "We have had to make a series of decisions that, in retrospect, have led to the watering down of the Starbucks experience and what some might call the commoditization of our brand." The company that taught us that coffee is not a commodity has itself become one.

So Schultz is taking it upon himself to restore the cult of caffeine. On Jan. 7, the passionate entrepreneur—whom employees call Uncle Howie—again became CEO, a position he ceded in 2000 for a seat on the board. He has lured back some apostles from the start-up years, and they've designed a plan to yank Starbucks' focus from gaining efficiency and appeasing Wall Street back to selling exemplary coffee with the kind of service and ambiance that makes a \$4 latte worth the price.

"We are doing everything we can to differentiate Starbucks from everyone else that is attempting to be in the coffee business," Schultz said at the company's annual meeting in March, alluding to McDonald's, Dunkin' Donuts and several convenience-store chains that have been making a run at Starbucks' customers. Starbucks will once again grind beans in its stores for drip coffee. It will give free drip refills, offer latte upgrades and provide two hours of wi-fi to anyone with a registered Starbucks stored-value card. Soon the company will roll out its new armor: a sleek, low-rise espresso machine that makes baristas more visible and gives them more

control over the process. It has launched MyStarbucksIdea.com for consumers to talk to one another and the company. "This," says Schultz, "is just the beginning."

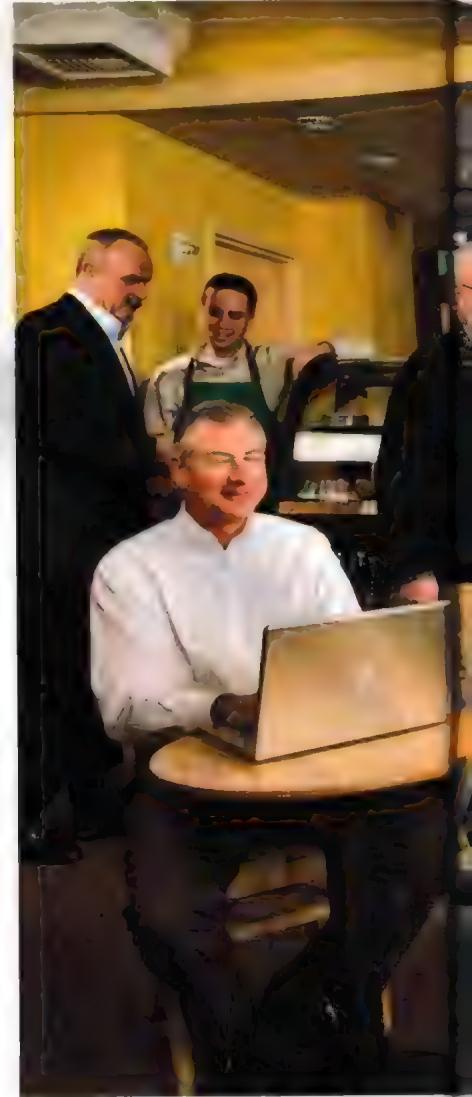
He says it with the zeal of an empire builder. And that's precisely the issue: having built one, Schultz is trying to alter the momentum of a company with \$10 billion in yearly sales and 16,000 stores in 44 countries. But creating intimacy and authenticity on that scale may be beyond expectation. "They have come about as close as you possibly can to being big yet still retaining some uniqueness," says John Moore, who was a marketing manager at Starbucks until 2003 and now runs the blog *Brand Autopsy*. "I can't think of a company that's done it better—but can it really be done?" We are about to find out.

Diluting the Coffee

AFTER THE WOMAN WITH THE 11 COFFEES drives away—running a recognized brand apparently doesn't mean *you* get recognized—we head inside and walk through the store with Harry Roberts. Roberts helped Schultz build Starbucks from 1987 to '96 and heeded the call to return as chief creative officer. The three of us stand and look at the area by the cash register—a clutter of CDs, breath mints, chocolate-covered graham crackers, chewing gum and trail mixes. "There's no story," Roberts says. Schultz adds, "We're selling a lot, but the point is to take a step back and ask, Is it appropriate? We've been selling teddy bears, and we've been selling hundreds of thousands of them, but to what end?"

Partly to the alienation of customers. "If I go in there first thing in the morning, it smells like McDonald's, not a coffee shop," says blogger Jim Romenesko, who runs *StarbucksGossip.com*, referring to the egg-based breakfast sandwiches the company started selling a few years ago. When he posted Schultz's Valentine's Day e-mail, Romenesko was shocked by the worldwide media pickup: he thought the things Schultz was saying were obvious since he had heard them so many times before from the Starbucks workers and customers who post to his blog.

Of course, every change that Starbucks has made over the past few years—automated espresso machines, preground coffee, drive-throughs, fewer soft chairs and less carpeting—was made for a reason: to smooth operations or boost sales, two inescapable goals for a publicly traded company. Those may have been the right choices at the time, Schultz wrote, but together they ultimately diluted the coffee-centric experience. "We want to have the courage to do the things that support the core purpose and the reason for being and



Starbucks keeps adding stores ...

29% of all Starbucks are now outside the U.S.



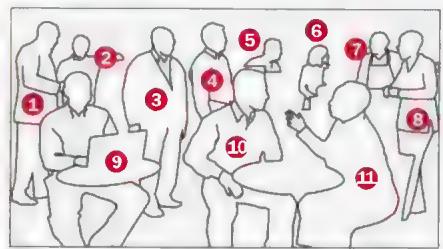
... but its stock price has fallen

Starbucks stock has dropped 55% since its high in May 2006



not veer off and get caught up in chasing revenue, because long-term value for the shareholder can only be achieved if you create long-term value for the customer and your people," Schultz says. "We have to get back to what we do."

In 1981 Schultz was working in his native New York City for a housewares company when he first traveled to Seattle and stepped inside Starbucks—a narrow store with a worn wooden counter and bins of coffee beans—which sat across the street from Seattle's waterfront Pike Place Market. The aroma and romance captured his imagination, as the well-told story goes, and after a year of begging for a job, he was hired to do marketing. Two years later, a trip to Milan led to more inspiration. He returned to Seattle convinced that Starbucks should start opening espresso bars and bring café culture to America. The founders of Starbucks, who had been trained by the legendary coffee retailer Alfred Peet, weren't so sure about



Starbucks—and its CEO—is ready to take your order

Schultz, who recently covered a shift in a Seattle store to observe customers, serves coffee with his top management team.

- 1) **Martin Coles** After a stint running the overseas stores, he now leads overall operations
- 2) **Chris Bruzzo** Starbucks' technology chief, an ex-Amazon exec, runs MyStarbucksIdea.com
- 3) **Harry Roberts** Long a Schultz confidante, he is back as chief creative officer
- 4) **Terry Davenport** The head of marketing is also charged with jump-starting product development
- 5) **Chet Kuchinad** The risky suggestion to close 7,100 U.S. stores for employee retraining came from his division, human resources
- 6) **Michelle Gass** Leads global strategy; she turned the Frappuccino into a core product
- 7) **Howard Schultz** One insider says the CEO picks executives who make up for his weaknesses
- 8) **Paula Boggs** The company's general counsel came to coffee retailing from Dell in 2002
- 9) **Peter Bocien** Took the chief financial officer post last year and must now explain the company's new strategy to Wall Street
- 10) **Arthur Rubinfeld** Another encore from the start-up era, he runs store development worldwide
- 11) **Wanda Herndon** After leaving in 2006, she accepted Schultz's call to handle communications

expansion—wouldn't that obliterate the intimacy they'd established? So Schultz left to start another company, Il Giornale, but he returned in 1987 with \$3.8 million that he'd raised to buy Starbucks and turn it into the company he envisioned.

In 1992 Starbucks went public with 140 stores, and from practically the very beginning, the company expanded at a breakneck pace, growing store count 40% to 60% a year. It wasn't just about coffee. Starbucks took care of its employees as well as its beans. In an almost unheard-of move for a food retailer, the company offered health insurance, a costly policy that Schultz insisted on; as a child, he had watched his family's finances crumble when his father suffered a broken ankle at his job as a delivery-truck driver.

Eventually, though, Starbucks had to grow up and get professional managers. In 2000 Orin Smith ascended from president to CEO; Schultz stayed on as chairman of the board. During Smith's five-year tenure,

Starbucks maintained its mind-blowing growth, but at the same time, it introduced sophisticated testing and R&D and took steps to boost efficiency and sales, like installing automated Verismo espresso machines. By no longer having to scoop and tamp coffee for each shot, baristas could make a drink 40% faster, moving customers through lines more quickly. Drive-throughs became standard, and the company released its first CD. Smith's successor was a Wal-Mart veteran, Jim Donald, who took the company into books, movie promotions and oven-warmed breakfast sandwiches, which added about \$35,000 to the average store's \$1 million annual sales.

Trouble Brewing

TENSIONS OVER WHAT STARBUCKS WAS becoming—cluttered, corporate, soulless—were rising within the company even before the Valentine's Day memo. "These were real conversations we were having," says Michelle Gass, whom Schultz

promoted in January to head of global strategy. "A lot of last year was figuring out what really matters to our customers."

At the same time, the slowing economy started to dent sales. "They finally got to the point where their customer base was so broad it wasn't recession-proof," says Bear Stearns analyst Joseph Buckley. The summer of 2007 was particularly bad because of consumers' growing boredom with Frappuccinos, which make up about 15% of sales, according to UBS analyst David Palmer. Then, in the quarter ending in September, traffic at established U.S. stores fell 1%, the first drop ever. The next quarter, traffic dropped again—down 3%—and comp-store sales fell 1%, the first time Starbucks had ever swung negative.

On Jan. 7, the board reinstated Schultz as CEO to revive the coffee empire. "It's a time for reinvention, and there's no one better to do it than Howard," says Howard Behar, who ran Starbucks' international operations throughout the late 1990s

Reinventing Starbucks. The java giant's new strategy puts the focus back on the coffee

WHAT'S IN

Grinding beans in stores

Will restore the coffee aroma; the new Pike Place Roast will be the first ground



MyStarbucksIdea.com

A site invites customers' gripes and suggestions



Conservation International

The group will certify where beans come from—one more sign that Starbucks is about coffee

Loyalty

Free drip refills and latte extras for repeat customers



WHAT'S OUT

Breakfast sandwiches

Hot sellers, but they sometimes overpower the scent of coffee

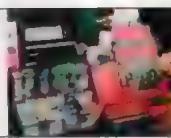


Reporting comp-store sales

Too much focus on numbers means less focus on customers

The Verismo

The old machine gives baristas less control over the steaming of milk and blocks their view of patrons



Cluttered counters

The mishmash of stuff distracts from coffee

Stores on every corner

Unwieldy U.S. growth will slow; the company will still push ahead overseas

and as a board member voted to reinstall Schultz. The stock rallied 8%, and baristas went wild. "Wooooohooooo!" read two posts on *StarbucksGossip.com*. "Welcome back, Howie!!! All of Starbucks missed you, and we can't wait to see where you take us," read another. More than a few posts skeptically pointed out that Schultz had never gone far (his office was next to Donald's), but overall the tone was jubilant.

Schultz is no less messianic. "I came back because it's personal," he says. "I came back because I love this company and our people and feel a deep sense of responsibility to 200,000 people and their families." On the afternoon of Jan. 7, he gathered the 4,000-some people who work at Starbucks headquarters. "I said, 'We need everyone in this room to believe in the mission of the company, and if you don't, there's nothing wrong, but you shouldn't be here,'" Schultz recalls.

Schultz moved swiftly. On Jan. 30, he announced that Starbucks would close 100 underperforming stores and curtail U.S. store openings to about 1,175 in 2008, down 34% from the prior year. The breakfast sandwiches were toast in North America. To

get focused on the long term, it would stop reporting comp-store sales to Wall Street. Then, at the March 19 annual meeting, the company laid out its initiatives to reinvigorate the "coffee experience." Some of the projects had been kicked around, but with Schultz back in the CEO chair, everything started to get done more rapidly. "The rate at which we're making these moves is far and away faster than anything I've experienced the last few years," says COO Martin Coles.

Some of the changes Starbucks is making are big, risky bets. By giving people with a registered Starbucks card free upgrades on lattes, for instance, the company could be leaving as much as 30¢ to 70¢ per drink on the table. When I ask Coles how much that program, which also includes free drip refills, will cost the company overall, he simply says, "We believe it's worth it."

The Founder's Dilemma

ONLY A FIGURE LIKE SCHULTZ CAN PULL OFF such bold action, says Rüdiger Fahlenbrach, an assistant professor of finance at Ohio State University's Fisher College of Business who has studied the return of founder CEOs. "A founder may come in, and because he started the company, people more readily accept these things," says Fahlenbrach. That's clearly what's happening at Starbucks. "Howard, frankly, is the only person who could do what we needed to do," says global strategy head Gass. That courage was on full display on Feb. 26, when Starbucks closed all 7,100 of its company-owned U.S. stores (4,000 licensed locations remained open) for three hours

to retrain 135,000 baristas. Part of the training involved the correct way to pull an espresso: into a shot glass, not a paper cup, a shortcut that had evolved to move the line more quickly. It was a strong statement that Starbucks cares about quality—with a clear shot glass, a barista can make sure the espresso correctly settles into three layers—and isn't led by a fast-food-style obsession with throughput.

By restoring the smell of freshly ground coffee to stores and working in visual cues about how Starbucks sources its coffee—Roberts is jazzed about a series of prints from artists in Rwanda, where Starbucks is opening a regional farmer-support center—the company is trying to re-emphasize its heritage. "We haven't been as good at telling our story as we once had in the past," says Schultz. "The good news is, unlike many other companies, this is not a story that has to be invented. It's real."

But is it what customers really want? Are most people looking for an experience, the "third place" community feel that Schultz likes to talk about, or do most of them just want a good cup of joe, pronto?

"Howard is a brilliant visionary and a genuinely compassionate human being, but he runs the danger of being trapped by his past," says Jeffrey Sonnenfeld, a professor at the Yale School of Management who has extensively studied CEOs. "Entrepreneurs sometimes don't grow with the business. You shouldn't pretend the model can't keep evolving." Schultz is fond of saying that the current energy and optimism reminds him of the early days, when Starbucks was "fighting for survival." It is a nostalgic way to look at things, and that, says Sonnenfeld, is a big problem.

To Schultz, keeping in touch with the past is key to future success. Remembering who you are is the first step to becoming who you should be. Sometimes in the morning, he goes down to the original Starbucks at Pike Place. Before the store opens, Schultz lets himself in. He puts his hands on the wooden counter and thinks about how he felt at the beginning, what it was he was trying to do. Over the past few months, Schultz has also taken to passing around a memo he wrote in 1986. The letterhead says *Il Giornale*—Starbucks would come later—but the vision was the same. "We recognize this is a unique time; when our coffee bars will change the way people will perceive the beverage," he wrote 22 years ago. "It's an adventure and we're in it together." He signed it the same way he signs the company-wide memos he's taken to writing since coming back as CEO: "Onward, Howard." Starbucks turned out to be a beautiful adventure. Will it be a single or a double? ■

'We've been selling teddy bears, and we've been selling hundreds of thousands of them, but to what end?'

—HOWARD SCHULTZ,
CEO OF STARBUCKS



AUTHORS

Pack Man. Will Jiang Rong's Chinese smash *Wolf Totem* manage to find an international audience?

BY SIMON ELEGANT

BESPECTACLED AND GRAYING. 62-year-old Jiang Rong doesn't look as though he could have written *Wolf Totem*—an eccentric, blood-soaked eulogy to the fiercest inhabitants of the Mongolian plains that has sold millions of copies in China since its publication in 2004. In fact, publicity is something of a strain for a man who, until recently, was so averse to exposure that he refused to be photographed. But Jiang is enduring it as part of the worldwide launch of the much touted English-language translation of his book, which has just been released by Penguin.

Although he still hasn't revealed his real name (Jiang is a pseudonym), the obligation to promote *Wolf Totem* means that

these days Jiang will reveal previously guarded details of his life and the creation of his unlikely best seller—and they make it clear that behind the slightly donnish exterior, he has lived with the same willful spirit as the wolves he writes about. He has, for instance, been arrested five times for being a "counterrevolutionary," experiencing beatings and five years in prison (the last stint for leading a group of students to the protests in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989). "It is ironic, isn't it," he says, flashing a grin, "that a book written by a counterrevolutionary should become such a best seller."

The scale and speed of his book's success has shocked him. Within weeks of its original release, the semi-autobiographical tale of a Chinese student being taught the

ways of the steppe by a wise old Mongol herder was being devoured by hundreds of thousands of readers—government officials and students, traditionalists and bohemians, workers and business types. Huge Chinese enterprises like Lenovo, Haier and Huawei bought copies for their employees, and the book quickly spawned a host of self-help and management texts that claimed to be imbued with its spirit—works with titles like *The Wolf's Way*, *Wolf Soul*, *The Cool Wolves*, *Think Like a Wolf* and *Wolf Strategy*. Illegal reproductions of *Wolf Totem*, of course, were rampant. No one knows the exact number of pirated copies sold but usual estimates are between five and 10 times the authorized version, which sold around 2 million. Total sales in China could therefore be as high as 20 million.

Out of the shadows The publicity-shy author is speaking up



"Different people saw different things in the book, which accounts for its universal appeal," says Jo Lusby, head of Penguin's China operations in Beijing. But it can be equally argued that they perceived different components of the same thing: a searching song of the ascendant Chinese nation, seeking to know itself. The U.S. had its Whitman and Thoreau; China has Jiang, wandering the huge grassy expanses and singing of primordial elements—blood, death, soil—to which the nation is no longer attuned. "The heat caused by *Wolf Totem*... is a symptom of Chinese people's collective depletion of spiritual belief," wrote critic Zhang Hong in the highbrow *Wenhui Readers' Weekly*. "The book is like a stimulant injected into the decadent contemporary spirit that allows people to fantasize about becoming aggressive and successful." Fittingly, those are the very qualities demanded by the new society evolving from China's economic boom.

But what of the non-Chinese audience? Penguin reportedly paid a \$100,000 advance for the English-language rights (company policy is not to comment on such issues, Lusby says)—respectable by the standards of international best sellers but an out-and-out record for China. Lusby believes it will prove a commercial hit, and on the face of it *Wolf Totem*—rendered by renowned translator Howard Goldblatt—seems to be the kind of *bildungsroman* that many could relate to, telling of how boy becomes man, and touching on themes of environmental degradation and the conflict between tradition and modernity. Based on Jiang's experiences as a student volunteer living with nomadic Mongol herders in the 1960s and '70s, the 500-page tome is packed with descriptions of life on the steppes, ranging from the predatory behavior of wolves, to an explication of the

sex lives of marmots. "It is an extremely Chinese book," says Lusby, "but also extremely universal as well."

Well, yes and no. Readers may find some of Jiang's purple prose indigestible. "Desperate cries rose from the herd as the wolves tore into one horse after another—sides and chests spurted blood, the stench of which drove the crazed predators to commit acts of frenzied cruelty," is his description of a wolf attack on a herd of prize horses. "The raw meat in their mouths meant nothing to the wolves: only the murderous tearing of horseflesh mattered." More problematically, the book contains puzzling chunks in which Jiang details his pet theory: that thousands of years of farming have turned the Chinese into a spineless people who placidly accept direction from above and are too timid to seize what they want. If the country is to avoid decadence and decay, he argues, the Chinese must emulate the ferocious independence of the wolves and the nomadic Mongols who lived in harmony with them. And not just the Mongols but the Europeans also. "The stories of the wolves are Chinese stories but they manifest the Western [European] spirit. Nomadic people are prone to explore, fight, and develop commerce, like what has happened in the West," he explains. "While farmers have a narrow minded attitude that puts themselves in a cage. That's why, even if Chinese people were given democracy,

'Even if Chinese people were given democracy, they wouldn't want it. Chinese are not wolves; they are sheep'

—JIANG RONG, AUTHOR, *WOLF TOTEM*

they wouldn't want it. Chinese are not wolves; they are sheep."

Jiang's attempts to marshal modern history to conform to his ideas result in some passages that will strike many readers as far-fetched, if not downright silly. They also prevent a simple enjoyment of the book—it's pleasant pastoral passages are sooner or later interrupted by jarring expositions that wouldn't look out of place in a 19th century manual of eugenics. Here's one from the novel's main character, Chen Zhen:

"The way I see it, most advanced people today are the descendants of nomadic races. They drink milk, eat cheese and steak, weave clothing from wool, lay sod, raise dogs, fight bulls, race horses, and compete in athletics. They cherish freedom and popular elections, and they have respect for their women, all traditions and habits passed down by their nomadic ancestors."

Despite this sort of encumbrance, Jiang says he is confident that the book will find a mainstream Western audience, and believes that foreigners may even "be able to understand the point I am trying to make about freedom and independence better than many Chinese." Perhaps his faith in Western civilization—he names Jack London's *White Fang* as his favorite novel—is a vehement reaction to everything that modern China has done to him. Jiang says that one of the reasons he went to Mongolia in 1967 was because its remoteness would allow him to bring along banned "bourgeois" literature, impossible to possess almost anywhere else in China at the time. "Freedom, personality and liberation are the things that the Communist Party wanted to crush," he recalls, "but they were my dream."

Ultimately, this is the kindest reading one can make of *Wolf Totem*—that of a howling if confused paean to liberty, born of sublimated political frustrations that millions of Chinese can relate to. "In 20 years, I think it is inevitable that China will evolve into a freer society," says Jiang. But curiously there is no such optimism in the book. The wolves—those symbols of perfect freedom—are exterminated by officials as part of a plan to turn the grasslands over to large-scale farming, and Chen Zhen, the protagonist, can find only hackneyed, metaphysical solace as he meditates upon a wolf-cub pelt, imagining the cub's spirit in "the place where all the souls of Mongolian wolves that had died in battles over the millennia congregated." One is left wondering if millions of Chinese readers also believe that freedom only waits in heaven, or if they feel it to be something worth striving for on earth. ■

The Epic Man

From iconic movie hero to gun advocate, Charlton Heston embodied both our grandest and our most ornery beliefs

NOBODY WANTED TO SEE CHARLTON HESTON in the business suit or polo shirt that other stars of the '50s and '60s wore. The present was too puny a place to confine him. But put him in a toga or a military uniform from any millennium, or strip him to the waist to reveal that finely muscled torso, then let his tense, intense baritone voice articulate a noble notion, and you had Hollywood's ideal of Mensa beefcake. In the era of the movie epic, he was the iconic hero, adding to these films millions in revenue, plenty of muscle and 10 IQ points. The movie Heston was almost his own species: Epic Man.

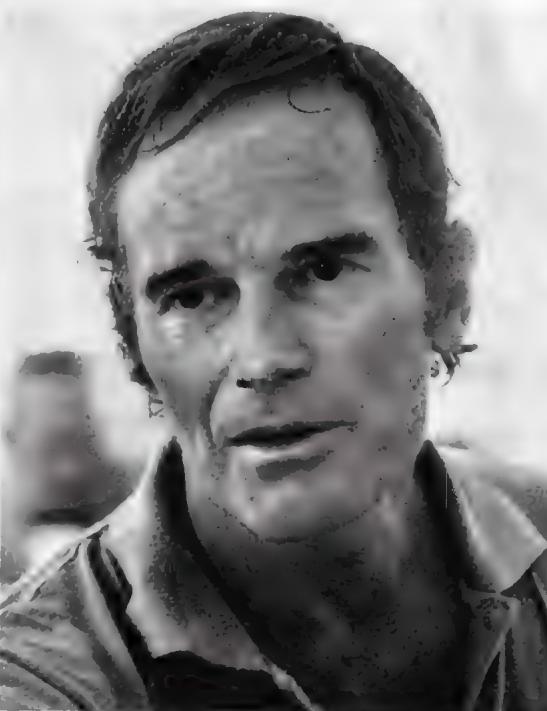
Heston, who died April 5 at 84, was unique among Hollywood stars. Of no other actor could you say, He was born to play Moses, Ben-Hur, El Cid, Michelangelo. At the very moment Marlon Brando was freeing film acting from good manners, Heston proved there was thrilling life in the endangered tradition of speaking well and looking great. And when he wasn't the movies' avatar of antique glory, he was our emissary to the future: the last man on earth in two dystopian science-fiction films, *Planet of the Apes* and *The Omega Man*. Heston was the alpha and omega of movie manhood—our civilized ancestor, our elevated destiny.

He was born John Carter, in Evanston, Ill.; he took his stage name from his mother's and stepfather's surnames. At Northwestern University, he appeared in a student film of *Peer Gynt*, and by 1950 he had made his way to Hollywood. Director Cecil B. DeMille immediately saw the actor's appeal, casting him in *The Greatest Show on Earth*, then giving him the role

At the moment Brando was freeing acting from good manners, Heston proved there was life in the endangered tradition of speaking well and looking great

of Moses in *The Ten Commandments*. At 32, Heston passed as the old patriarch and aced the movie's crucial scene: Moses holding his staff above his head, parting the waters of the Red Sea and commanding the Israelites to walk on through.

Ben-Hur confirmed Heston's status as epic hero; it won 11 Oscars (including one for Heston as Best Actor). Truth to tell,



The loner as conqueror Heston, seen here in 1973, had no equal playing characters who were powerful, pure and fiercely driven

Ben-Hur was long and logy, but it got the actor his finest role in his best film. *El Cid* is up there with *Lawrence of Arabia* in the epic empyrean: passionate, eloquent, with a visual and emotional grandeur. As the 11th century soldier seeking peace with Spain's large Muslim minority, Heston gave heroic heft to a pacifist warrior. At the end, the Cid, close to death, orders that his body be strapped to his horse and carried out to battle so that his presence will put fear into the enemy—a ripe metaphor for the enduring power of star quality.

As the epic form waned, Heston found new life as the ultimate loner, the only human among mutant species, in *Planet of the Apes* and *The Omega Man*. "Damn you all to hell!" he cried in *Planet*, as if he were Moses smashing the commandments, enraged by the weakness of humanity.

That mood eventually settled on Heston. In the '60s he marched with Martin

Luther King Jr., and after Robert Kennedy's death, he called for gun control. But like many young liberals, he aged into conservatism. In the '80s he became a prime spokesman for right-wing causes and in 1998 the president of the National Rifle Association (NRA). At the 2000 NRA convention, he invoked his own Moses, hoisting a rifle above his head and proclaiming that presidential candidate Al Gore could remove the gun only by prying it "from my cold, dead hands."

Heston had a final great role to play. In 2002 he announced that he was suffering from Alzheimer's-like symptoms and, in a last burst of eloquence, declared, "I must reconcile courage and surrender in equal measure." Not even a movie hero can write a happy ending to his own life, but maybe in the enveloping vagueness, Heston had one. With him when he died was Lydia Clarke Heston, his wife of 64 years.

From start to finish, Heston was a grand, ornery anachronism, the sinewy symbol of a time when Hollywood took itself seriously, when heroes came from history books, not comic books. Epics like *Ben-Hur* or *El Cid* simply couldn't be made today, in part because popular culture has changed as much as political fashion. But mainly because there's no one remotely like Charlton Heston to infuse the form with his stature, fire and guts.



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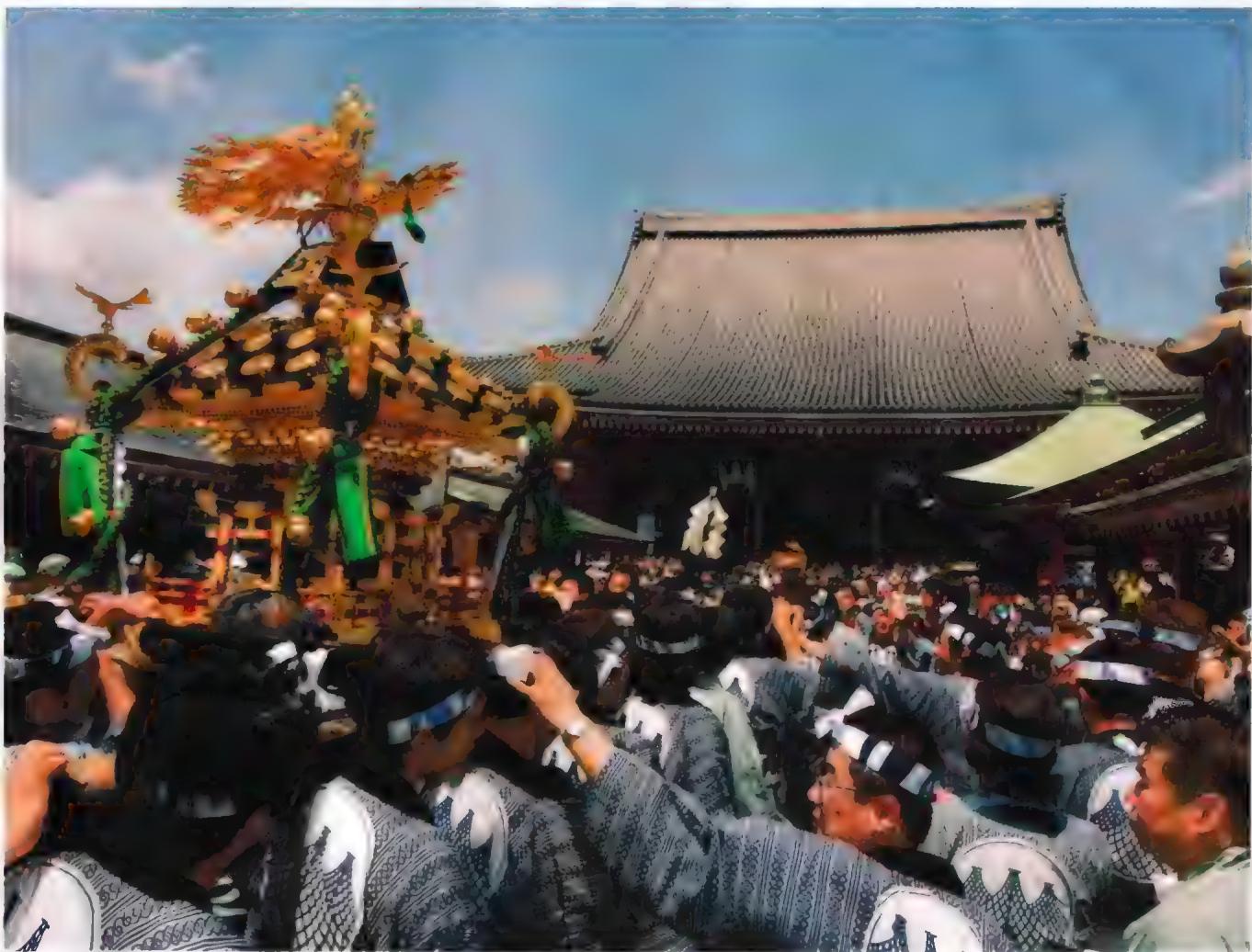
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CURTAIN RAISER

Crowded House. It's almost time for Tokyo's most boisterous celebration

THINK OF IT AS THE JAPANESE Mardi Gras. Held in May, the 350-year-old Sanja Matsuri festival brings 1.5 million revelers to Asakusa in eastern Tokyo to honor the three founders of the district's Sensoji—a Buddhist temple that is the city's oldest. The

throng, more densely packed than any rush-hour train, is an unforgettable spectacle. Young and old are adorned in festive clothes, and pant with the effort of bearing dozens of *mikoshi* (portable shrines) through Asakusa's 44 residential blocks, while *yakuza* in

loincloths proudly sport their full-body tattoos in a normally forbidden display.

Sanja Matsuri takes place on the third weekend of May. On the Friday prior, floats process to Asakusa Shrine, a Shinto place of worship close by Sensoji, for the *binzasara no mai*, or "harvest dance." The *mikoshi* parade comes the following day. Locals say that the more a shrine sways and shakes, the greater the gods' favor. The festival ends on Sunday, usually with a parade of the three *mikoshi*

The scene at Sensoji A shrine that sways while being carried is thought to be a sign of good luck

belonging to the local shrine. But because revelers became so rowdy last year—climbing on to the structures during the procession—for safety reasons the three *mikoshi* won't be going anywhere in 2008, and organizers say that some other finale will be held instead. Evidently a swaying shrine brings luck—but not if it sways too much. —BY COCO MASTERS

Socialist Movements.

Mid-20th century Chinese watches are becoming collectors' items

EUROPEAN WATCHMAKERS ARE competing for lucrative slices of the China market, but not everyone in the world's fastest-growing economy is interested in a Chopard or a Blancpain. One small clique of collectors prefers to concentrate on homegrown brands—and they don't mean upscale makes. Their obsession is for mechanical watches produced by communist factories from the 1950s to the 1970s, and stems from a mixture of historical curiosity and opportunism. It's an area of collecting that has been barely explored, with no price barriers to entry.

Hong Kong native Joel Chan is one of the pioneers. When not scouring the curio and antique shops of Shanghai, the 38-year-old collector frequents online forums such as those at Watchuseek.com to satisfy his time-consuming but affordable craving. The website's Chinese Mechanical Watches forum is a learned gathering where Chan and his fellow aficionados politely compare and praise each other's recent discoveries, discuss dial typography and intricate case engravings, and generally provide encouragement to other members of their growing band. Chan also writes a blog at *micmicmor.blogspot.com*, and

Revolutions in time Production of cheap mechanical watches meant that millions of Chinese could own timepieces



generously—in fact surprisingly, given the secretive nature of many collectors—shares locations of the dusty Shanghai outlets where he adds to his collection of more than 700 Chinese watches. If you want to see what the fuss is about, pay a visit to Mr. Rong, whose quaint and rarely troubled store is at 378 Chang'e Road in the city's Xuhui district. Or try Mr. Xie's dealership at 425 Fang Bang Zhong Road.

Chan admits that a love of his country partly spurred his original interest in old Chinese timepieces. A chance meeting with a Japanese collector left him perturbed by the thought that overseas enthusiasts were snapping up China's horological history. "I was jealous of them," he admits, and immediately set about studying the subject. Today, novice collectors regularly approach Chan with their questions, and a book is in the pipeline.

The earliest, state-produced watches in China, Chan says, came from the Shanghai Watch Factory, founded in 1955—six years after the declaration of the People's Republic. Rare handmade 1956 Shanghai prototypes of the Heping (meaning "Peace") and Dong Fang Hong (or "East is Red") models are the favorites in Chan's extensive collection. They were based on a classic Swiss movement, and Chan acquired them from private collectors for a few hundred dollars each.

Of the first 100 or so pieces produced by Shanghai, only 12 passed the modest quality standards, which required the watches to neither gain nor lose more than 120 seconds a day. But these unreliable prototypes, Chan

explains, provided the basis for the mass-produced A581—launched in July 1958 and adorning many Chinese wrists until its discontinuation in 1967. Millions of A581s were made, which means that today they are relatively easy to pick up in Shanghai curio stores from about \$15 (variations in dial color and casing style will affect the price). Chan is also a fan of the A623, launched in 1963 and the first Shanghai watch with a calendar function. The A623 was not available to the general public but only provided to high-ranking government and military officials—a fact that lead to its nickname of "the minister watch." The very first piece made was strapped upon the wrist of China's then Premier Zhou Enlai, who wore it until his death in 1976. The trusty timepiece is now on display at the National Museum of China at Beijing's Tiananmen Square. In 1964 a special edition of the A623 was released to commemorate the successful testing of China's first nuclear device.

Chan snapped up his A623 in an online auction for just under \$150—underscoring the fact that early communist-era Chinese mechanical watches are within the financial reach of almost anyone. "Even many rare models can still be found for [around] \$75," Chan says. To be sure, some pieces occasionally fetch impressive sums (a 1955 Shanghai Watch sold at auction for over \$15,700 in 1996), but for the moment no one is talking about the investment value—only the pleasure of getting your hands on a quaint piece of revolutionary history.

—BY GARY JONES

CHECK IN

In Search of Value

BHUTAN'S REPUTATION FOR BEING THE HIGH-END HIMALAYAN holiday destination is well-deserved. Travelers pay a minimum daily fee that includes accommodation and meals. For those traveling in large groups, it's \$200 during high season, \$165 during low; rates go up for those in groups of four or less.

You can easily spend a lot more than that, however, by asking one of the designated travel companies you are required to use to visit Bhutan to book you into one of the luxury hotels that have popped up over the past few years—places like the Taj Tashi in the capital Thimpu, or one of five Aman resorts sprinkled around the country. If you want to stick much closer

to the daily minimum while still relaxing in luxury, though, ask about Hotel Zhiwa Ling, www.zhiwaling.com. Located outside Paro, home to the country's only airport, the Zhiwa Ling is an imposing collection of buildings running down a hillside. In the main lobby, three floors of vibrantly painted woodwork hit you as you enter. Once you've checked in, sample the usual luxuries—a spa, a hot stone bath from which you can watch the night sky—as well as unexpected ones: the hotel has two Buddhist temples, for example, one of which is built from 450-year-old timber beams. At night, the Lingka restaurant has a simple menu ranging from Thai (including an excellent *tom kha gai*) to Italian (featuring a version of spaghetti carbonara too experimental for my tastes). But the main reason to visit the hotel—indeed, the main reason to visit Bhutan—is the noise. There is none. Rates that start from just \$145 should help you sleep even better. —BY SIMON ROBINSON



Rest easy The Zhiwa Ling offers affordable luxury

TIME TRAVELER

A Perfect Day in Bandung. Best-selling author Dewi Lestari and her pop-star husband Marcell Siahaan plan your day out in Java's café capital



9:15 a.m.

The tofu breakfast at Kupat Tahu Gempol is a Bandung institution



10:30 a.m.

Dewi and Marcell, center and right, check out clothes at Invictus



5 p.m.

At Reading Lights, Dewi browses while Marcell, rear, catnaps



7 p.m.

Sambara specializes in Sundanese cuisine and offers plenty of choice for vegetarians. Food is served buffet-style

MARCELL: Growing up I would always have breakfast at **Kupat Tahu Gempol**, tel: (62-22) 426 0809. This food stall has been serving its famous dish of tofu and peanut sauce since 1965 and now has four other stands around the city, but the same woman still works at the original location, which is down the road from my old house. Just around the block is one of the city's best boutiques, **God Incorporated**, tel: (62-22) 423 2308. It sells locally made clothing and other gear, and belongs to the members of Koil, Bandung's legendary metal band. The shop has great T shirts, DVDs, books and band merchandise. After going there, head over to **Invictus**, tel: (62-22) 250 4407. I love the cotton they use in their T shirts.

DEWI: After some shopping, head to **Toko You**, tel: (62-22) 250 3332, one of the best-known cafés in town. But instead of caffeine, have a small shot of *jamu*, or herbal drink. For some reason, they taste better there. I recommend the sweeter kind, like *beras kencur*, made with kencur root and rice powder. It's good for beginners and not as bitter or medicinal as the *jamu* more experienced drinkers enjoy. For lunch, I've always loved **Warung Nasu Ibu Eha**, tel: (62-22) 426 2745, a little food stall deep in the heart of Pasar Cihapit, one of the city's oldest markets. I've been eating there since I was a kid and the menu still hasn't changed. I love the *perkedel* (corn fritters), rice noodles and the fried tofu. Or you could try picking something up at **Het Snoephuis**, an 80-year-old Dutch bakery also known by its Indonesian name **Sumber Hidangan**, tel: (62-22) 423 6638. The same lady has been working as a cashier there for 48 years. After lunch, head over to the **Reading Lights** bookstore, tel: (62-22) 203 6515, and browse through their collection of used books. You'll mostly find titles in English and they also have a nice gallery upstairs where you can buy the work of local artists.

MARCELL: Next you can move on to **DU68 Music**, tel: (62-888) 235 8890, and check out the used CDs. They have a great collection of 1980s music and a pretty good collection of local stuff if you want to check out some music from Bandung. For dinner, we suggest **Sambara**, tel: (62-22) 420 8757, for some of the best Sundanese food—the cuisine of West Java. All of the dishes are spread out on a long buffet table so you just choose what you like and they'll heat it up and bring it to your table. It's a great place for vegetarians like us, as the Sundanese eat lots of raw vegetables and sambal, or chili paste. The place is cozy and the people friendly, so we love to come here after a long day and just enjoy the breeze at a table outside on the terrace. —WITH REPORTING BY JASON TEDJASUKMANA

A Ghost in the Machine

A giant accelerator searches for a tiny and elusive particle that is key to understanding the origins of the universe

BY EBEN HARRELL/GENEVA

GET PHYSICISTS AND COSMOLOGISTS TALKING about their work and they will tell you that there are elegant theories and messy ones. Almost all of them believe the universe conforms to an elegant one. A central goal of today's physics, in fact, is to show that at its very beginning, the universe was ordered and unified. But this unity didn't last for long. Just instants after the Big Bang, as the explosion cooled and its contents scattered, the cosmos' forces and matter differentiated. The universe fell from a state of perfect grace into its current complexity, in a cosmic parallel to Adam and Eve.

Many great minds—Democritus, Isaac Newton, James Clerk Maxwell, Albert Einstein—took giant steps toward bringing the universe's lost unity out of hiding. In 1964, Peter Higgs, a shy scientist in Edinburgh, took another by coming up with an ingenious theory that gave scientists the tools to explain how two distinct classes of particles were once one and the same. His theory proposes the existence of a single particle responsible for imparting mass to all things—a speck so precious it has come to be known as the "God particle." The scientific term for it is the Higgs boson, and to find it physicists are counting on the most powerful particle accelerator ever constructed: the Large Hadron Collider (LHC) at the CERN laboratory in Geneva, a 17-mile underground circuit that took 25 years to plan and \$6 billion to build.

The LHC won't begin operation until this summer, but when Higgs, 78, made his first visit there on April 5, it was, in the nomenclature of particle physics, "an event." Grown men and women with Ph.D.s swarmed Higgs for autographs, but he appeared far more taken by the experimental equipment he hoped would find the Higgs boson and thus prove his theory. A particle detector called ATLAS, for instance, is 150 ft (46 m) long, 82 ft (25 m) high, weighs 7,000 tons and is connected to enough cable and wiring to wrap around the earth nearly seven times. "The sheer scale of the detectors was overwhelming," Higgs later said, displaying about as much emotion as you get from this restrained British scientist. Another outpouring: "I suppose I'll open a bottle of something if they find it."

He'll have waited a long time, at least in puny human terms. In 1964, Higgs theorized a mechanism to explain how two types of particle, massless like everything else immediately after the Big Bang, came to acquire different masses as the universe cooled. Using this mechanism, which two Belgian physicists simultaneously posited, scientists were able to extrapolate how all particles get their mass. Higgs thus plugged a major hole in the Standard Model, the far-reaching set of equations on the interaction of subatomic particles that is the closest modern physics comes to a testable "theory of everything."

Working from Higgs' theory, scientists postulate that initially weightless particles move through a ubiquitous



Collision course Higgs hopes the LHC will finish the quest for his namesake particle

quantum field, known as a Higgs field, like a pearl necklace through a jar of honey. Some particles, such as photons—weightless carriers of light—can cut through the sticky Higgs field without picking up mass. Others get bogged down and become heavy; that is the process that creates tangible matter. "The Higgs gives everything in the universe its mass," says David Francis, a physicist on the ATLAS experiment. Pointing at CERN's grand geological amphitheater of the Jura and the Alps, he adds, "None of that is possible without the Higgs."

Yet so far no one has been able to find the Higgs boson in the stream of debris emitted when two particles are smashed together at high speeds. Scientists at another CERN particle collider, LEP, felt they came close before the accelerator shut down in 2000. Scientists using the Tevatron accelerator at Fermilab near Chicago are still hoping to publish a discovery before CERN starts analyzing data later this year. Higgs says he is 90% sure that the LHC will find it, but he doesn't have the final word. "With all respect to our theoretician friends, experiments find out the truth," explains Tejinder Virdee, the head of one of the LHC's experiments. "You can make conjectures, but unless you verify the conjectures, they are metaphysics. That's why many of us haven't minded spending our entire working lives building this experiment."

Higgs jokes that he now tells his doctors to do whatever's necessary to keep him alive until the data from the accelerator can be analyzed. He has his professional reasons for wanting to see his theory confirmed. For the rest of us, solid proof of the Higgs boson would provide a cosmic solace: that beauty and unity exist at the very foundation of the universe, however rare they sometimes seem in the world.

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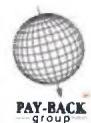
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